

Gender, Stress, and Coping in the U.S. Military

**Volume II: Historical Perspectives on Acculturation,
Deployment, and Contingency Stresses**

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHIATRY

F. EDWARD HEBERT SCHOOL OF MEDICINE

UNIFORMED SERVICES UNIVERSITY OF THE HEALTH SCIENCES

BETHESDA, MARYLAND 20814-4799

19960627 088

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 1

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A	
Approved for public release; Distribution Unlimited	

Transcription Provided by:

CASET ASSOCIATES
8300 Professional Hill Drive
Fairfax, Virginia 22031

Published October, 1995

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

Form Approved
OMB No. 0704-0188

Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302, and to the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reduction Project (0704-0188), Washington, DC 20503.

1. AGENCY USE ONLY (Leave blank)	2. REPORT DATE	3. REPORT TYPE AND DATES COVERED	
	October, 1995	Final	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE		5. FUNDING NUMBERS	
Gender, Stress, and Coping in the U.S. Military. Volume II: Historical Perspectives on Acculturation, Deployment, and Contingency Stresses			
6. AUTHOR(S)		7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)	
Editors: Robert J. Ursano, M.D.; A. E. Norwood, M.D.; C. S. Fullerton, Ph.D.; L. K. Sutton, M.D.; C. Levinson, L.C.S.W.-C; J. Sarnecky, B.S.; M. Hilliard, B.S.; S. A. Jackson, SMSgt		Department of Psychiatry, Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences 4301 Jones Bridge Road Bethesda, Maryland 20814	
8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER			
9. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)		10. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY REPORT NUMBER	
Commander, U.S. Army Medical Research and Materiel Command ATTENTION: MCMR-PLF (BAA-DW) Fort Detrick, Maryland 21702-5012			
11. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES			
12a. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT		12b. DISTRIBUTION CODE	
Distribution Statement A			
13. ABSTRACT (Maximum 200 words)			
<p>This volume derives from discussions with national and international experts to increase the understanding of gender, stress and coping in the U.S. military. It contains personal observations from a number of distinguished women who currently hold, or have held, senior leadership positions in both traditional and nontraditional fields for women. Insight is provided on deployment, contingency stresses and historical perspectives on acculturation.</p>			
14. SUBJECT TERMS		15. NUMBER OF PAGES	
PTSD, Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, stress, military, health, performance, sex, trauma, gender, combat		159	
16. PRICE CODE			
17. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF REPORT	18. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE	19. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF ABSTRACT	20. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT
Unclassified	Unclassified	Unclassified	UL

These seminars were held as part of Research sponsored by:
the Surgeon General, United States Air Force,
as part of the Defense Women's Health Research Program, FY 94

This grant was administered by:

COMMANDER, USAMRMC

ATTN: MCMR-PLF (BAA-DW)

Fort Detrick Maryland 21702-5012

Other volumes in this series:

Gender, Stress, and Coping in the U.S. Military

Volume I: Trauma, Stress, and Health:

Military Women in Combat, Deployment & Contingency Operations

Gender, Stress, and Coping in the U.S. Military

Volume III: Performance

Gender, Stress, and Coping in the U.S. Military

Volume IV: Training, Deployment, and Contingency Stressors

EDITOR

**Robert J. Ursano, M.D.
Col., USAF, MC, FS (Ret.)**

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

**Ann E. Norwood, M.D.
LTC, MC, USA**

Carol S. Fullerton, Ph.D.

**Loree K. Sutton, M.D.
MAJ, MC, USA**

ASSISTANT EDITORS

Catherine Levinson, L.C.S.W.-C.

James Sarnecky, B.S.

PRODUCTION EDITORS

Maribeth Hilliard, B.S.

**Steven A. Jackson, B.S.O.E.
SMSgt, USAF**

**“Stress and Women’s Health: Combat, Deployment,
Contingency Operations and Trauma”**

Principal Investigator

**Robert J. Ursano, M.D.
Col, USAF, MC, FS (Ret)**

Co-Principal Investigators

**Loree K. Sutton, M.D.
MAJ, MC, USA**

Carol S. Fullerton, Ph.D.

**Ann E. Norwood, M.D.
LTC, MC, USA**

Co-Investigators

**Sidney M. Blair, M.D.
CAPT, MC, USN**

**Harry C. Holloway, M.D.
COL, MC, USA(Ret)**

**Michael P. Dinneen, M.D., Ph.D.
CDR, MC, USN**

**James R. Rundell, M.D.
LtCol, USAF, MC**

**M. Richard Fragala, M.D.
Col, USAF, MC, FS**

**Normund Wong, M.D.
COL, MC, USA**

**James E. McCarroll, Ph.D.
COL, USA, MS**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Acknowledgments.....	i
Introduction	ii
An Historical Perspective on Women in the Army: Acculturation Stressors Across Time	1
BG Evelyn P. Foote, USA (Ret)	
Naval Aviation: Stressors of Acculturation - Past and Present	27
CAPT Rosemary B. Mariner, USN	
Senior Leaders: Special Stressors and Coping Strategies	57
Brig. Gen. Marcelite J. Harris, USAF	
Nursing in the Vietnam Conflict: Reflections on War and Post-war Stressors.....	69
Capt. E. Jane McCarthy, NC, USPHS	
A Brief History of the Army Nurse Corps: Stressors and Moderators	91
COL Rosemary T. McCarthy, NC, USA (Ret)	
Women and Minority Women in the Navy.....	113
Regina Akers, M.A.	
An Historian's Perspective of Stress in Military Women	131
Linda Grant DePauw, Ph.D.	

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In order to understand the effects of combat, deployment and contingency operations on women's health, the support of a wide array of people and institutions is required. Our gratitude goes to all those who have supported us in this work. The most important are those men and women from all the Armed Services who have participated in studies which expand our knowledge in this area. We are indebted to them for taking time to assist us in these efforts. Our thanks go also to the cadre of military and civilian personnel who authorized our involvement and encouraged our work. We would like to specifically recognize the Surgeon General of the Air Force, Lt Gen Edgar R. Anderson, and Lt Col Daniel R. Brown, Research Programs Officer for the Air Force Medical Operations Agency, for their support.

We are grateful to all the civilian and military experts who shared their observations on military women's health from a variety of perspectives. Their candor and valuable insights will provide guidance on a wide range of topics bearing on the physical and mental health of our military women and men.

Finally, a number of individuals, through their personal support and efforts, have fostered the development of the studies and recognized their importance to both the military and civilian communities. In particular, we wish to thank Drs. James Zimble, Jay P. Sanford, Nancy Gary, Val Hemming, Harry Holloway, David H. Marlowe, M. Richard Fragala, Normund Wong, Sidney M. Blair, James R. Rundell, Michael P. Dinneen and James E. McCarroll. Their vision of the importance of understanding the effects of trauma and disaster on health and their personal and administrative support have sustained our work. We hope that increased understanding of overall and gender-specific stressors involved with trauma and combat stress will enhance the ability of individual servicewomen to care for themselves within an institution that is informed of and concerned with their needs. Educational and preventive measures resulting in servicewomen assuming informed responsibility for their health needs within the context of a supportive group system parallels the process of fostering individual initiative and group cohesion that is essential to mission performance on aircraft, ships, and battlefields.

INTRODUCTION

Military leaders have long recognized that mission readiness requires both the absence of disease and the presence of mental, physical, and spiritual health. However, little is presently known about the health of military women, particularly as it may be uniquely affected by trauma and war. Such knowledge is essential to meeting the health needs of military women for all mission contingencies. These missions include: peacekeeping and peacemaking activities (e.g., the Sinai MFO Treaty, Somalia); humanitarian aid (care of civilian refugees following the Persian Gulf War; natural and human-made disasters including assistance in Hurricane Andrew, the Los Angeles riots, threats of chemical terrorist attack, and the Oklahoma City bombing); and potential combat. As the number of active duty women increases (approximately 10% in 1995), women are assuming critical positions of responsibility which fully expose them to the hazards of combat and war.

The systematic study of the effects of trauma on women's health is important for women in all branches of service. There is a close interplay between performance, health and psychosocial factors in responding to trauma, disaster, and combat. Understanding the gender-specific responses associated with traumatic stress is important for the development of command policy, training scenarios, and medical care procedures. However, little is presently known about how the health of military women may be uniquely affected by trauma and war.

Available data on responses to various traumatic events can serve as an analog to aid in understanding some of the potential effects of war and combat on military women. The higher base rates of psychiatric illness in women, their greater social supports (although the relationship to unit cohesion in women is less clear), higher distress after exposure to death and the grotesque may be expected to alter responses to combat, deployment, and military contingencies compared to that in men. In addition, differences in fatigue, chronic stress tolerance, effects of sleep deprivation and variation of stress effects across the menstrual cycle can increase or decrease stress tolerance and health effects. Overall, empirical studies in this area is greatly needed.

This volume is the second in our series of publications deriving from discussions with national and international experts to increase our understanding of gender, stress, and coping in the US military. It contains personal observations from a number of distinguished women who currently hold, or have held, senior leadership positions in both traditional and non-traditional fields for women. They provide important insights into the challenges encountered in the transition from an all-male force to a gender-integrated one. The final speakers, civilian historians, provide an outside perspective on the history of women in the military.

Several recurring themes emerge in this series of seminars. Perhaps the most emphasized by the military speakers was the importance of focusing on all individuals as soldiers, airmen, sailors and marines rather than emphasizing differences such as gender, religion, or race. Diversity is a critical asset to the military because it provides a rich array of experiences from which to draw. However, leadership is crucial to ensuring that minority groups are welcomed for the new perspectives they provide rather than ostracized and segregated. As reflected in these sessions, military women overwhelmingly express the wish to be judged on their merits and not be set apart as women. Military leaders at all levels of command are charged with the responsibility for maintaining a climate in which individuals are judged based on their actions rather than their gender or race.

The history of women in the military offers important lessons for the future. Historically, the inclusion of women has been driven by a shortage of qualified men - rather than by changes in the wider community's social organizations and thinking. In this work, several speakers draw attention to the fact that in the past, women have often been given short shrift once the military crisis of the day has passed. Several voice concerns that military women will once again be harmed in the current process of downsizing.

Another focus for lively discussion was the issue of military roles which should be open to women. The speakers, especially those with line backgrounds, speak eloquently of the necessity for all jobs, including combat, to be filled on the basis of the ability to do the job. They argue that until this final step occurs, military women will not truly achieve equality with their male counterparts.

The final common thread to these seminars is the excellence of the presentations. Each speaker brought rich stories to illustrate her material. The attendees asked excellent (and sometimes spirited) questions. This volume contains a wealth of information on the stresses and their health effects on women in the military both from personal and broad historical perspectives in a manner which makes for lively reading.

**An Historical Perspective on Women in the Army:
Acculturation Stressors Across Time**

BG Evelyn P. Foote, USA (Ret)

Brigadier General Evelyn Foote is retired from the Army. Her education includes a BA in sociology from Wake Forest University, a master's degree in public administration from Shippensburg State College, as well as an honorary doctorate of law from Wake Forest University.

She had numerous assignments in the Army. Her last three assignments included serving as the Deputy Inspector General for the Department of the Army, the Deputy Commanding General for the U.S. Army Military District of Washington, and the Commanding General at Fort Belvoir, Virginia.

Her awards and decorations include the Bronze Star, the Legion of Merit, and the Distinguished Service Medal. She is a member of numerous organizations and societies. Prior to the session her most recent involvement in the Women in Military Service Memorial was discussed.

BG FOOTE: It is the Women in American Service Memorial. We have been working on it for about eight or nine years now, and with a little bit of luck we will have ground-breaking in June.

MAJ SUTTON: It sounds exciting. In fact, she is going to send me some brochures giving us some more information. Without further ado, I would like to welcome you.

BG FOOTE: Thank you very much. Let me make sure I understand the audience. You are all basically within the medical profession, doctors and psychiatrists?

DR. URSANO: Perhaps we could go around and mention our names and backgrounds.

LTC TILLMAN: I am Lieutenant Colonel Johnnie Tillman. I am an Assistant Professor in the Department of Military Emergency Medicine.

COL McCARROLL: I am Ed McCarroll. I am a Research Psychologist at the Department of Military Psychiatry at Walter Reed Army Institute of Research.

DR. MARLOWE: I am David Marlowe. I am Chief of the Department of Military Psychiatry at WRAIR.

DR. STRETCH: I am Bob Stretch. I am a Research Assistant Professor of Psychiatry here at USUHS.

LTC KNUDSON: I am Kathy Knudson. I am a Research Psychologist. I work with Dave Marlowe, and for the past year I have been helping the Medical Research and Materiel Command with the initial \$40 million they received for the Defense Women's Health Research Program.

DR. SLUSARCICK: I am Anita Slusarcick, a Research Associate in the department. I am a psychologist.

DR. GABBAY: I am Frances Gabbay. I am a Research Assistant Professor of psychology in the Department of Medical and Clinical Psychology.

DR. URSANO: I am Dr. Bob Ursano. I am Chairman of the Department of Psychiatry here at the School of Medicine.

LTC NORWOOD: I am Ann Norwood and I am a psychiatrist in the Department of Psychiatry here at the School of Medicine.

BG FOOTE: Great. What we have here is a group of individuals whose professional orientation is medical, psychiatry, and psychology. I on the other hand, come from the lay Army.

When Loree called me and asked me to come and speak to you, I told her I would have to be speaking to you as a lay person. I bring to you some of the observations from a military career that spanned just about 30 years covering three of our most turbulent decades, the 1960's, the 1970's, and 1980's. I came on active duty in 1960 and retired in 1989.

The Army that I came into in 1960 was certainly not the Army in any way, shape or form that you see today. At the time I was commissioned, the only way I could enter was through the Women's Army Corps. I was commissioned as a member of the Women's Army Corps as a reserve officer.

I would say that the advantages that I brought in at that time were the fact that I was 29 years of age, had graduated from college in 1953, and had almost seven years of work experience in the Washington D.C. area. At that time, the military was wild and wooly for men who had no knowledge about what it is all about. This was exceedingly true for women who had, in the main, no frame of reference for what being in the military was going to be all about.

You find out even before you come on active duty that you start to meet some of the stressors that became characteristic of all of our services. Number one was the resistance on the part of so many of my friends to this "madness" that I was about to involve myself in; a two-year active duty tour as a volunteer. They said, "it is terrible enough when men have to be conscripted, but you are volunteering for this." I said, "yes," because I had not found too much job satisfaction in the various organizations I encountered because the glass ceiling was down about our knees in those years.

I was with the FBI before women could be agents and with the old "Washington Daily News," when their idea of my being a reporter was to report foods and fashions. I also worked with Blue Cross/Blue Shield, where I could run the enrollment department and the salesmen schedules, but I could not be the enrollment manager; I was a woman and this was limiting.

It was for this reason that I came into the Army regardless of how miserable the pay was. I entered at the same pay level that a man did in 1960. Indeed, I did intend to come in only for two years, to give myself time to think about what I wanted to do with the rest of my life. I found out, to my great amazement and delight, that there were many things about the service that were attractive to me.

This military that I came into was one where the training in the 1960's and into the 1970's for women was done by women. Women were commanded by women, women were recruited by women, women went to schools that had women commandants, and all the administration was done by women.

When a woman graduated and went into the field, should she be selected to command, only commanded women. We were not permitted to command men until about the mid-1970's. It was a strange environment. You had female training centers with very few men and very few introductions to what the Army mainstream was like. There was a man's Army and a woman's Army and we were trained on a different sheet of music than the men during those early years.

It was also a time when women officers had limited horizons. In fact, my career was described more to me in terms of what I could not do than what I could do. The highest permanent rank a woman, by law, could acquire was lieutenant colonel. The largest percentage of women that could serve as regular Army members was two percent. This was all by law, part of the Armed Forces Integration Act of 1948.

I am sure you are all aware of the fact that the Women's Army Corps started in 1942. It came into fruition because of the war and the apparent need to have a manpower pool exceeding 12 or 13 million people. Even in those early years, it was all volunteer.

Initially the women's ranks and the women's benefits were not the same as the men's. The women were in as auxiliaries and continued for almost a year in this status until someone very wisely recognized the fact that the women really had no health benefits whatsoever should they be disabled on active duty. It was 1943, I believe, when Congress passed another law making the Women's Army Corps no longer an auxiliary but a branch of the Army.

During that particular war, I suppose we peaked at about 100,000 women serving in the Army at any one time. Of course, the first corps of women was the Army Nurse Corps started in 1901. However, until 1942 and 1943, the women in the Army Nurse Corps did not receive the pay, allowances and privileges of the men. A lot of things had to happen during these very interesting, very turbulent war years.

It was interesting to me that, during the Second World War, women performed just about every job in all of the theaters of operation short of direct combat operations. There were no limits on their entering into non-traditional skills such as driving trucks or doing anything that was needed for the war effort. As soon as the war ended, all of these non-traditional skills were closed and women went back to doing traditional women's work.

It was touch and go in 1946 during the tremendous de-mobilization, whether any of the women's branches would even be retained, except for the nursing service. There was a great feeling among many of the men in the military that the less they saw of women in the military the better they liked it. They didn't want women in the first place. They were taken as an emergency measure. Fortunately, people like General Eisenhower and General Marsh and General Bradley, who had experience serving with women in the war theaters, prevailed and the Corps was retained, although much smaller.

For example, the Women's Army Corps had as one of its missions, self-perpetuation. Our mission statement was to provide a corps or cadre of trained women who, in time of rapid mobilization, would be the training base for the women coming in. In other words, it was still gender specific. This was the way it continued for the first seven or eight years of my Army career.

I would say historical stressors for all of us in those days continued to include a negative attitude on the part of many in society, including men who were veterans of World War II and men serving in the military now, toward women serving in the military. It was not considered women's work. Women who were in there were thought to be either strange, promiscuous, or perhaps deviant. Pick one of the three; whichever you wanted to be that day.

This was regardless of the fact that when people examined the credentials of women serving they were consistently better qualified, more intelligent, better educated and more dedicated than many of the men who were serving. That didn't make any difference, though. One of the stressors experienced day after day, wherever you were sent, was the need to prove that you had a right to perform that job and to be there.

The stressor of sexual harassment, of course, was always there. I think there are very few women in any profession who will not say, at one time or the other, that someone has hit upon them for sexual favors, or has implied that they will be discriminated against if they don't provide sexual favors. About 95 percent of the women take care of that very handily.

There are 5 percent, however, that come through the chain of command and permeate the chain of command so extensively that a single individual can't take care of the problem. Something has to be a catalyst to take care of it. A good example is the Tailhook Convention scandal, where it finally blew up, but only when it was revealed that this type of misbehavior had been acceptable within the Navy for a long time.

The things that truly stressed most of us in those days were the inhibitions on what we could do and could not do. When I first came into the Army, a woman could get married after she came on active duty. However, if she became pregnant, she was discharged automatically within two weeks of receiving a certification that the woman was pregnant. She would be out of the Army, with the only benefit to her being medical care for that particular pregnancy plus post-partum care, and that would be it. Her career ended, effectively, at that time.

I remember a friend of mine with 18 years of service who came in at about the age of 18. She went through Officer Candidate School, became an officer and married as a lieutenant colonel. When she became pregnant, her career ended right there. She was not able to come off active duty and subsequently return. Again, it took changes in regulations and, in some instances, changes in law, before the right to stay and be a mother, a wife, and a professional were extended.

Additionally, if the woman was married and wanted to declare her husband as a dependent, she had to prove that she provided at least 51 percent of support. The man automatically had his wife as a dependent. This was later overturned in the court system.

DR. URSANO: About what time was that.

BG FOOTE: This was in the 1970's, I would say in the 1973 to 1975 time frame. Toward the end of the war in Vietnam, when it was very apparent that we were moving toward a volunteer environment, the services realized that one way to make up the manpower shortage was to bring in considerably more women than they had before.

I went into the Office of the Director of the Women's Army Corps in June 1972 as the Plans Officer. The day I reported in, the only people in the office were the secretary and me. The director and her sergeant major were in Vietnam. The deputy director and the executive officer were in meetings at the Pentagon that went on the entire week concerning the expansion in numbers of women in the Army.

At this time, within what was still the Women's Army Corps, we had something like 12,400 enlisted women and about 800 officers. Within five years we had over 50,000 enlisted women and the officers were beginning to number in the 1,700 to 1,800 range.

The number of women ultimately peaked at about 82,000 before we began with the down-sizing of the force. That probably was the decade of stress for not only the planners but for women.

Beginning in January 1973 when the draft ended, there was almost a panic at the top about meeting manpower needs in an all-volunteer force. This was not only the Army, but the Air Force, and the Navy with the exception of the Marines. The Marines hold the line regardless of everything. It continues to be a very small corps.

In 1967, the law was changed which prohibited women from being promoted above the rank of lieutenant colonel. That artificial ceiling was removed and promotion all the way to the stars became possible, but it was remotely possible in 1967. The cap on strength was taken off. That was a prelude to getting ready for what would happen.

As we approached the 1970's we realized that most of the Army's manning documents were coded either female or male, with the vast majority of them being coded male. We further realized that no women served or were assigned to combat support, division, non-divisional units, or brigades; none of these assignments had been given to women previously. There had to be a whole-hearted and complete revision of thinking and action regarding how we were going to utilize all these women we were bringing in.

In 1972, I walked in to the Office of Director of the WAC and thought I was riding the wind of a hurricane. We dealt with everything from getting the clothing the women needed coming into a training base, to expanding the training base, and beginning training in other centers; because in 1972 we only had one training battalion for women and that was at Fort McLellan, Alabama. There was one very small officer detachment to train woman officers. In those days they numbered in the thirties and forties, not in great numbers of thousands and thousands.

We had to go from an all-female training environment with female cadre, female commanders, and female teachers, to bringing in male commanders, male non-commissioned officers, and male staff officers. We had to integrate them in the training scheme going from one to six battalions and creating a second training base at Ft. Jackson, South Carolina. We were throwing the book out on what the women's training would be.

When I went through training we spent one day in the field. Our physical training program, PT, was like a finishing school program, where we would stand up in the little formations where you fling and swing and do those types of things. Then we would run off and play basketball or baseball or something, or we would do nothing; we would just walk around and sit around in our PT shirts and be happy for an afternoon.

Then in 1977, 1978 and 1979, when I was commanding a basic training battalion at Fort McLellan, out of nowhere the whole standard of physical training was changed to push-ups, sit-ups, and the two-mile run. You are looking at a batch of women, many of them mature and matronly, who are suddenly faced with doing the first push-up they have ever done in their life, much less the first sit-up; and running two miles, dear lord. There was no grace period to get there. We always did things quickly. It was just one day, nothing; and the next day your future depends on all of this. We had a lot of those nerve racking requirements to meet. A big stressor for women is the PT test.

Many of the young women coming in today are much better prepared and in much better condition because they have been involved in team sports. They know

to do the push-ups, the sit-ups and the run, and they are interested in this. In the early 1970's, we didn't have women who were prepared for this, so it was truly a struggle.

The other real stressor that the medical profession simply must look at is the weight standard for women, because there are women who are extraordinarily fit, but who do not meet the current weight standards or percent of heavy fat. Either they have heavy bosom, or they have the deposit of weight below their waist. This is constant agony for the women; making the weight, taking the test.

Passing the physical test isn't a big thing to most of them, but making the weight standard is a real stressor. We have felt for years that perhaps we should really look this one over very carefully.

The training environment in the mid-1970's was a turbulent time. We took women out of the girl's finishing school mode, where we never even studied what the Army at large did, and suddenly put them into a training environment where they had to fire the light anti-tank weapons, the M-60 machine gun, fling grenades with the best of them, do firing maneuvers, and then integrate basic training. We were literally making the rules as we went along.

We never quite seemed to prepare the environment for massive change in the Army when we, in fact, initiated massive change. I like the Air Force way of building the buildings, building the runways, bringing in the mechanics, bringing in the planes, and making sure that everybody knows how to repair that machine before they ever use it, before they ever open the base. The Army does not pre-plan this way. We open the base and then figure out all the other things as we go.

We suddenly decided that we were going to have the national training center out in California. There was no housing for anybody and yet they were bringing thousands of troops out there. Where were we going to put them? The same thing after we opened Fort Stewart after we had closed it. We have a can-do mentality about just about everything in this world. Sometimes we can do, but not too well. That is what we used to say about the integration of women into the military. We said, "it is an idea whose time has come," but nobody was ready for this idea whose time had come. Nothing had been done to prepare the men of the Army, who served in isolation with very few of them ever serving with women, for the sudden influx in considerable numbers of women into battalion level organizations.

We had women physically knocked down in formations by NCO's who just hated their presence there. They weren't ready for them and didn't want them. In one instance, suddenly about 33 percent of a medical battalion were female medics. The male commander and the male command sergeant major and the sergeants didn't like it. The women did not complain. They said, "no, if we complain it will be hell for all of us. So, we are going to tough it out and make it work." There were some very stressful moments as we went through this process of bringing women into what had been essentially an all-male environment.

This continues today. Women are continuing to have to be the pathfinders. There is always going to be some woman who is talked about as being the first this and the first that who goes and does things. The women of the 1960's and 1970's

were the women who were the first in this unit, the first in that unit, the first trained airborne soldier, the first Army aviator, and the first woman to command men.

Normally there wouldn't be any big publicity if a man was going airborne or if a man was going to fly a plane, or if a man is going to train women. When you reverse it, there is a tremendous amount of publicity focused on that woman, to her detriment within her unit, because the unit doesn't like it one little bit. They don't like this undue attention they may be getting.

The 1970's were the time when we started change that has culminated now in an Army that is so integrated with its women in combat service support and combat support that there is no turning back. Every once in a while somebody talks about cutting back the numbers of women. There is a feeling that in a peacetime mode we don't need women in the military. In reality, it is not going to work that way. There will be no turning back. The competition for positions in a draw down environment, as you can well imagine, gets more and more ferocious, with women doing very well, generally speaking, in getting their promotions, professional schools, and in getting pretty good assignments.

There are some areas that remain closed to women in the Army, in the Marine Corps, and in all of the services. There are still many jobs that a woman cannot aspire to. As long as a member of an organization is prevented from having access to all the jobs, given that they have ability or aptitude or intelligence, she will continue to be less of a full professional in the eyes of a man. These are things that men deal with, too.

It is like ROTC. Women can go to ROTC, do everything in summer camp that their fellow male ROTC cadets do and are all in the same program together. Then the men will be detailed to combat arms for a year in the Army, even if they are going into combat support. The women will not. This is the first huge discriminator that begins to degrade a woman's professionalism in her own eyes, and in the eyes of many of the men. There are still many professional hurdles along the way that hinder a woman's advancement.

It has been a rocky road. My own career is so highly improbable. I came in for two years, already an older woman. I was supposed to have been mandatorily retired as a lieutenant colonel, but I was selected for promotion to colonel at the time that I was supposed to be mandatorily retired. That automatically extended me for two more years. During those two years, the Defense Office of Personnel Management Act passed. After 22 years in the Army, I was offered membership in the regular Army; no longer Christmas help. After 22 years I had already met my time obligation, so I didn't think I was going to lose anything by that. I agreed to accept the promotion, but I was still going to retire. Then I got picked for brigade command.

I said, "well, I can't give that up, I will go do that and then I will retire." As soon as I completed the brigade tour of duty, I was picked for brigadier general.

To me, that was ridiculously unexpected. I was 55 years old. Who would have thought it? In the ARMY TIMES they said there was only one general over 55. I said, "I know who that one is, the oldest, grayest one in the bunch." Everything became very improbable.

This type of uncertainty was felt not only by me, but by my whole generation and the one behind us that came into the Women's Army Corps in 1960 or subsequently. Suddenly in 1978, we disestablished the Corps. We took the Corps out of the inventory, off the books, off the statutes. We got rid of the director of the Women's Army Corps and all the advisory chain, and the women were on their own. They were integrated into the mainstream, sink or swim.

After 18 years in the Army, I left being a personnel manager commander and suddenly became an instant military police officer without five minutes of MP training. This happened to many women in the grades of senior captain through lieutenant colonel.

Over half the women officers who were detailed to other branches picked Adjutant General. I went out of my way not to pick AG because I knew that they were about to get a dump of 500 women and no way were any of those women going to get a decent job. Somebody said, "do you want the MP's?" and I thought why not.

Now you talk about stressors, the only MP assignment I had was as a colonel commanding a full and deployed brigade in Germany. However, I had no bad habits to unlearn. You go around and tell them, "I know that you know that I don't know anything. I know that you do. You run the place and I will run interference for you," and we had a great time. It gives you some sleepless nights when you go into something like that. It happened time and time again. You are pitched in, you know, sink or swim. Can you make it?

Most of them do. We had many who fell by the wayside when they took away the support system of the Women's Army Corps. Many of the women were just so lost. Many of them quit. They said, "I do not want to stay in the Army without the Corps."

Many of them were very angry because the only power base that the women had during the years we had the Women's Army Corps was within the corps. If you go to McLellan, you can command Fort McLellan, or you can command a brigade and be a company commander. The only other place that you can be a company commander is to go out in the field and command female troops.

When the power base was taken away, many of the women became quite surly. In fact, I had a couple of female drill sergeants that I had to take some very severe disciplinary action against because they were physically and verbally abusing the male trainees when they came in.

I was out in the foreign maneuver in Reno, the low crawl ditch. I went out one day. I had a habit of just showing up, which can be disconcerting for the rank and file if you are a commander. Here was this female drill sergeant, an E-7, with

her boot on the head of this young man holding him down. She was kind of standing on his head. Now, that does not go. He was stressed.

When you are taking away people's security and creating a sense of having no control over their future, there are some victims that fall by the wayside. We continue to have victims one way or the other.

When it comes to women serving in war, I have yet to find a woman who has said, "I refuse to go," or become hysterical at the idea of going into an area of operations or conflict. I served in Vietnam in 1967. Part of my stress then was that the Army had sent me to Vietnam, which was a 360-degree combat zone, with no preparation for overseas, no weapons training, no weapons, no TA-50, no helmet, no nothing. Yet, in my job, I was out with every division and brigade. So, I started begging and borrowing a few little things hither and yon.

The day that I really got angry was the day I was up near the Cambodian border in an underground bunker with a battalion commander who was bristling with arms and grenades hanging off of his web gear. They were up there as a field artillery battalion to attract the NVA across the Cambodian border. I am sitting there in my baseball beanie, my purse, a camera and a tape recorder (I was in public affairs) thinking, "this is absolutely ludicrous. If we were to be attacked at this moment, somebody better teach me how to handle those BO-4s in a hurry or that M-60 or something." Other than that, you become a detriment. You have to be protected yourself, and you don't need that.

At the time that I went over to Vietnam, women did not have to be weapons qualified. They could, if they volunteered, fire the M-1. I fired the M-1 back in training and that was the only weapon I fired. I had no side arm as an officer in Vietnam.

We have corrected many of these deficiencies in training and preparation now. To General Schwarzkopf's credit, when the women came to Saudi Arabia, his insistence was that every man and woman arriving in theater, Air Force or Army, would come with either an M-16 or a side arm. They all did. They had the proper web gear, and the proper training to be in a combat zone.

People talk about women under the stress of combat. I remember where we lived in Long Binh, we had a small WAC detachment there of about 160 women. That is all we got over there, because the then-director of the Women's Army Corps felt that women should relieve men and send them to war and the women stay home and do sedentary work.

Some of the men who had been going over for about the third time were beginning to take exception to that idea. I couldn't say I blame them. I volunteered three times with the Women's Army Corps and was turned down each time. I then pursued a schooling assignment with the Adjutant General's Corps, and was detailed to them for a year. They were happy to send me to Vietnam, and I went in a heartbeat with them.

I remember in Long Binh Bieu, we were frequently on the alert because we lived next door to the Long Binh ammunition dump and the ORNK construction area. I got to the point where I just didn't tell people who were moving in that the ammo dump was next door, because it kept bothering them. Any time that it was

under attack, we would have to go into the bunkers. I would go down there and there were these kids 18, 19, and 20 years old, sitting with their steel pots on top of their curlers, trying to write by flashlight, all the time that we were under attack. They were under attack during Tet, no question about it, but they performed magnificently. They were no worse and no better than the men when they had the training. Without the training, women did become a real liability there.

I mentioned the stressor of sexual harassment. It is a given. I think all the services, at the top, are doing everything they can to take care of this. What causes runaway harassment in any unit is leadership failure. I don't think it is institutional. I think it is the failure of individuals to do their jobs as leaders and to create the climate so that type of nonsense doesn't occur.

One of the stressors of sexual discrimination against women that is truly insidious is how frequently it is used in what we call a lesbian-baiting schematic. For example, a man may try to get a women to go to bed with him and she says, "no." He immediately says, "what is the matter, are you queer, are you a lesbian?" He will start that type of an attack on her even in passing. We have had cases where they go out and really dredge up rumors. Pretty soon the woman finds herself under investigation, because someone is calling her something that she has no protection against. She might wind up being the subject of a CID investigation. The psychological scars are just terrible when this happens. This has been used since day one.

I had a WAC company at Fort Belvoir back in the 1960's with a lot of 18 and 19-year-old young women. I can remember more times than one their coming to me so upset because some man had slapped a "National Enquirer" or similar piece of yellow journalism down in their face that was headlined, "Queers in the WACS." There just seemed to be this great desire to come up with the sensationalism; that every woman who puts on the uniform is, by virtue of her service, a sexual deviant, or a prostitute, one or the other - pick which one you want to be.

It is very difficult to prepare a young woman for that type of an attack. It is still there; it is still going on; it is still happening today.

Another stressor that will always be there is the image the woman has of herself as a woman. I have dealt with a lot of the young women who spend most of their duty time wearing combat boots and fatigues, who begin to have an image problem; am I really a woman? There are some who think in order to be accepted in a unit that is primarily male, they need to walk like a male, talk like a male, cuss like a male, and that never works either. The image problem and the doubts that it can engender in their role in the military can be something that is very dysfunctional for the woman.

Probably the principal stressor today is juggling the the military career, the marriage, and children, and trying to make it all work. The Armed Forces do what

I think is an amazing job of keeping husbands and wives together to the extent they possibly can. Inevitably there are separations. Either the man is left with the children and the woman goes off to school, or to a short tour or vice versa. In DESERT STORM and in Somalia, husbands and wives with children were both called to deploy. Then you are left with two people feeling very guilty about their careers and going to war and leaving their children in someone else's hands; no matter how much they may trust these individuals.

This whole area of trying to be a mother and a wife is rough on a career woman. It is rough on the man, too. It is very rough on the men and women who are sole parents and have minor children. There are far more men than there are women who are single parents.

I have seen some terrible cases of things that do happen, simply because I think the whole system just breaks down. I remember one case in the Army, maybe someone can remind me what it is, of the husband who was the sergeant who had responsibility for the children and no wife. He left his kids with some money and off he went to Saudi Arabia. The kids were in quarters by themselves and only discovered after a period of some time. Thankfully, that was the exception but these things can happen. I have seen what happens when children are left by their parents. I have seen that happen. They are left in the quarters, but there is no one there to take care of them.

These are extreme cases, but the family and career conflicts, the problems of making everything fit and fit well can't be done haphazardly whether it is family or position. There is a concomitant increase in cases of spousal abuse or child abuse when the pressures get too intense. These are all stressors that are out there for women, and certainly for men; especially the ones who have the responsibility for children but no wife to help take care of them.

Despite the stressors of deployment, or the thought of possible wounding or death, or the fears about a very uncertain future in the military, whose size continues to diminish, it is amazing how stable most of the men and women who serve as our professionals remain.

They are strong people and they take on a lot of burdens. Most of the women who are out there serving as professionals have a lot of steel running right through them. They are going to continue attempting to be the super mom, the super officer, the super NCO, and do it all without any flaws. There aren't any perfect people out there, but most of them sure are super achievers.

A lot of them will never tell you what their problems are. They wait until they are in big trouble or there is some kind of a breakdown that comes; either a breakdown in family or a breakdown in performance, or just withdrawal from the world all of a sudden.

We still have not come to grips with the relationship of men and women in the military and the ultimate roles that we might perform. I do think we are probably about 95 percent there. The women are going to be there. I don't care

how many critics would love to see the women back in the kitchen or back in the home, it is not going to happen. Their incomes are very necessary and their skills are essential.

At this point I would like to open the discussion for any questions you may have and to discuss things that you have encountered. There aren't too many things in a career as long as mine that you don't handle. On the other hand, something else will come up that I have never seen before. We still have men who profess not to know how to command women. Men who served with women in combat service and combat support since the 1970's and are used to an integrated Army, and are trained with women side by side, have no problems. The ones that have the biggest problems are combat arms, because that remains the segregated Army.

The segregated Army is one that goes all the way up to the four stars and the Chief of Staff. They provide the leadership and run the Army. It is frequently difficult to communicate to some of those outstanding men some of the problems that they are going to have to resolve. Many times these leaders who come from the combat arms don't have the experience of serving in or leading integrated units.

LTC NORWOOD: What are your thoughts about the issue of cohesion and all-male versus integrated units?

BG FOOTE: I think that cohesion is composed of many things. The most important element in cohesion (other than the fact that you need good material to begin with regardless of whether you lead properly or not) is absolute leadership with integrity, honesty, commitment, sound judgement, strong ethic of discipline, and a strong ethic for training. That must be communicated from the very top of the organization through every branch of the organization to the lowest ranking person and reinforced constantly.

You start off with leadership at the top that is what it should be, male or female, and the troops must receive the proper training, over and over. Then the leadership needs to test them, either in a national training center environment, or some type of an Army training test where they can evaluate the effectiveness of the training. Then you have the basis for a unit that is going to come together cohesively. The troops, in working together, begin to trust each other and are willing to put their lives in each other's hands, should the need arise.

I think cohesion really becomes a matter of the competence and ethics of the leader at the top, and practice by all of the followers. When breaches of discipline occur the leader must take action immediately.

When you get all those things going, you will have a cohesive unit, whether it is in the motor pool or whether it is airborne. We hear most about unit cohesion from the combat troops. I will tell you, the unit cohesion of many of the combat support units, certainly in DESERT STORM, was tremendous. They worked together, they trusted each other, they served together and, in some cases, they died

together. They were a cohesive unit and the presence of a woman did not disrupt it.

I will tell you where the presence of women can disrupt. This occurs if we take a unit of 200 men and put 3 women in there. It happens. When we were beginning to integrate the women into the units, we weren't thinking about what constitutes critical mass. There is no definite number I can give you in any type of unit as to what is critical mass. In some units it could be 15 people. In others it might be 50.

In a unit like a military police unit, you don't put a couple of women in there. You need to put 30 to 60. Then you can team people up in pairs and get to know each other better. The MP's have done it very well.

I read an interesting story the other day about women going to duty in Somalia. This female staff sergeant was the commander of the patrol, and they began picking up sniper fire. She was the one who got them to disperse and called in where the fire was, as she should have. They started taking action with counter-fire. She brought all of her people back safely. The vehicle was shot up, but they were okay. The woman was under fire and responded very well. When she came back, her people were detached and assigned to an infantry unit. She was pulled off because she can't go to the infantry unit as a woman. This woman in the military police with infantry as her second specialty, because of our combat exclusion policy, can't go with the rest of her team.

We had some women sent to Panama (you may have heard about the infamous three) who were on the plane, left Fort Bragg, landed in Panama, and were sent back by the commander on the ground to Fort Bragg. They were MP's, but they were women and this commander felt women shouldn't be there. They were turned around by the next commander and sent right back down. Finally, a three star general got involved and said, "they are MP's. Put them on the ground, and use them."

Because we still have these very vague notions of what constitutes combat, women are frequently restricted in their utilization by male combat commanders who don't want to do anything wrong, as they say, in utilizing women. This is despite the fact that they are taught exactly the same skills as the males. It all has to do with someone's subjective idea of proximity to the most conceivable harm on the battlefield.

Tell me today where the battlefield is, in any war, on any field; where is it? Most of the people in Saudi Arabia, certainly the women who were killed, were killed in the rear by SCUD missiles.

When we were doing "Air/Land Battle 2000" a couple of female utilization doctrines ago, women were still having direct combat probability coding. The codes were P-1 through P-8 and classified where women could be on the battlefield. I facetiously decided, "okay, if I am going to be in the rear, I want an armored cavalry squadron, I want field artillery, and I want air power, because the Spetznaz

are coming back to get me; not you guys up in the front because you don't even see anybody. They are all in my backyard." We continue to play these games.

I think in any areas in which we train a man or a woman, they should be mobile and assignable. We still are playing with some of these combat exclusion rules that are confusers and stressors. For instance, this female MP staff sergeant, who just wants to do the job but suddenly is told, after she has already been under fire, that she can't go with her outfit.

I have another good story from Saudi Arabia of an MP battalion that went forward with elements in advance of the 82nd Airborne Division on the strike into Iraq. When elements of the 82nd arrived at the LZ (landing zone), they were greeted by female MP's and the female battalion commander who said, "Welcome." They had already gone forward as the third element of MP's to set up reconnaissance and to control traffic coming into the LZ.

Women flying as members of air cargo carriers with the Air Force couldn't get credit for flying in combat because they are women and women don't fly in combat; or they didn't in those days. These types of confusing policies, which are perpetuated forever because no one bites the bullet, continue to be a problem. The public will not react negatively to women being assigned any job for which they are qualified and have the skills, such as we have now in combat aviation.

Another good current case to think about is the young Navy lieutenant, Karen Hultgren. She was one of the first two women F-14 pilots assigned to a carrier. When she crashed in attempting to land on the carrier, there was a tremendous surge of back channel, fax messages going up and down the line, trying to tar and feather her as being incompetent to have been there in the first place; one more example of affirmative action not working, et cetera, et cetera.

More recently, the report was published on the cause of the crash. She had a flame-out on one of the engines as she attempted to land. Instead of saying she was incompetent, the Navy came right through with the truth. This was in spite of the subterfuge that came from those who didn't want her there. They are the ones who were creating tremendous tumult and a great deal of stress for the family. It has all been answered and it has all been put to rest. She was a very fine pilot.

Any time you enter a world that is primarily a man's world or somebody else's world, you are going to find people who are going to oppose your being there simply because you are there as a woman. It has nothing to do with their skills. It is incumbent upon women who do this to recognize fully the challenges; also, to recognize that if you want a full career in doing this, you had better get used to it. Women need to learn how to handle it and convert some people along the way.

I was sent to leadership schools by the Army, starting with Command and General Staff College and then the Army War College. Then I was sent to do an executive program. There were also the two commands I had of a battalion and then a brigade. There were people in every instance, and all this came back to me, who were saying that it was only because I was a woman that I got any of this.

I would hope somewhere along the line that experience, survivability, and job performance paid off a little bit. Invariably, there are the disaffected who say it

was only because I was a woman that I received these schools or commands. This happens still with a lot of things, but it goes with the turf.

DR. MARLOWE: Don't you think some of the problems, I certainly do, result from the almost feudal autonomy we give to commanders? No matter what the policies are and no matter what the Army says should be done, we will see battalion commanders in Panama who refuse to take women with them. It required appeal to the division commander, and occasionally above, for Army policy to be implemented. Yet, normally we allow people to get away with this. The battalion commander, the brigade commander, each are emperors in their own turf.

One of the things I have wondered about for many, many years is why Army culture in particular (and I know it is the same in the Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps) insists upon this set of prerogatives as necessary to command rather than starting out with a common base, which are the common policies and cultural reorganization.

BG FOOTE: I couldn't agree with you more. I have generally found, with very fine exceptions, that male and female commanders that I served with who have commanded mixed units with extensive responsibility are out of the mode of the emperor. The exceptions are people who, by virtue of their experience and their own self confidence and their own humanity, have turned out to be far, far better commanders in the end than those who are too autocratic in how they run a unit.

The emperor type people scare me to death.

DR. MARLOWE: They scare their troops, too.

BG FOOTE: Yes, they scare the troops, too. Those who refuse to trust, and are so afraid of making a mistake, which is their first big mistake, command with that attitude. They are afraid they are going to blow it, the troops are going to know it, and the troops are going to get them.

DR. MARLOWE: But their bosses don't pull their chains and rein them in.

BG FOOTE: Yes, there is this professional closed ranks that happens. I hate to say this, and tell me if your experience is different, but mostly I find it in the combat arms. That is a mystical elite out there.

DR. MARLOWE: I was asked in Saudi Arabia, when we were doing some work there, to give advice to a couple of division commanders by their corps commander. The corps commander was just as aware as I was (we were assessing cohesion, stress, and morale) of the problems in their divisions. However, the three star was not about to call the two star in and say, "hey, fellah, you are screwing up." Instead, he said, "doc, will you go in and talk to X?"

BG FOOTE: That is part of the fallacy. If we are making this an acceptable leadership ploy through our training then that is very wrong. Everybody suffers, especially the troops in a case like that.

The thing that gets me, is the peter principle takes hold. You are unable to make and learn from your mistakes without your career suffering. The report says, "we already know about you." If you are not marvelously wonderful and stupendous with three superlative adjectives attached to everything you do, and if there is a way to rate you down by the senior rater, then you are dead.

There are people sitting around playing those numbers games on promotion boards and that is another thing. You talk about a stressor; board duty is one for senior women. I bet I sat on 30 Department of the Army boards. I carried a plaque in one time that said, "The Evelyn P. Foote Memorial Board Room." We hung it in the Hoffman Building for six weeks while I sat there.

I watched those guys come in and the only thing they do is look at the numbers to determine who gets promoted or not. I said, "do you ever read the words these people are saying." They look at the numbers and anybody that gets a two block or three block gets thrown out; he is not going to command, she is not going to command. That is unfair. What is the profile on these candidates? Maybe you find that a two or three is a typical profile.

We have this awful paean to perfection that is being sung everywhere. You can't make a mistake.

DR. MARLOWE: Walks 24 feet above the water.

BG FOOTE: Or leaps tall buildings with a single bound. I saw a parody of a scale one time that said, "leaps tall buildings in a single bound, takes three bounds per week, does it once per building."

DR. MARLOWE: There is one observation I would like you to comment on. The brigade commanders now, certainly the good ones including a number of the ones that I have observed and worked with since the mid-1980's, had a much different view of women because of the number of the key technical personnel they need to maintain their organization. I think this has made a tremendous difference in terms of the learning experience the brigade commanders had.

BG FOOTE: You are absolutely right. One of the things that is now beginning to pay off because we are now 20 years into this greater utilization and greater integration, is that the men and women who started this process of training together are now coming up into the ranks where they are beginning to make a difference.

It will probably be another 10 or 15 years before we (and I don't like to use the word "purges," it is pejorative) get through that wave of officers who continue

to deal with human beings in terms of their limited utility. We are still about 10 or 15 years away. Even when we reach a far better accommodation, we get right down to the economics and the competitiveness of it. It is still going to be a knock down drag out battle for women to get all the way to the top in their profession because they are competing with men for economic reward.

More importantly, they are competing for power in the policy-making and decision-making arenas. This is the type of power that everybody wants, that power of life and death.

We have not really cracked the policy-making empire yet at the top in the Pentagon with women because women can't get more than one star. We had one woman in the active Army to get two stars. That was General Clark in 1978.

DR. MARLOWE: A lot of key staffers now are women.

BG FOOTE: Yes, they are getting up there. One of the greatest assignments I had, other than commanding Fort Belvoir because there is nothing like being king of the hill, was as the Deputy Inspector General where I traveled worldwide. I was gratified to have that opportunity because I felt, "if you do this job right, then you are going to be able to help a lot of people." We did some very good inspections, not the old compliance type of inspection, but really looking for problems, and I enjoyed that.

DR. URSANO: You raised a thought a little bit earlier, and you reminded me with your comment just there, that leadership and power were related but not the same. The ability to apply power can be made at the desk in terms of developing doctrine while leadership we usually think of as the interactive command of troops.

Are there any gender issues related to leadership and issues related to power in our system? In other systems there may be applications of many other styles of leadership and power, but what about in our system, both historically or now? Do women have to do it differently or do women have to do it the same? Either of which would be confining.

BG FOOTE: No. In fact, one of the interesting phenomena today is seeing how much that is considered traditional female leadership style being incorporated. I refer to the far more participatory style of leadership where you take into consideration the opinions of others; more inclusive, more personal leadership. I have never, from the time I was a lieutenant on, had a problem admitting that I just screwed up. There are a lot of leaders who cannot say, "I screwed up." They will have everybody else screwing up but not themselves.

I can think of some of my greatest personal moments in command where I brought the staff together and said, "boy, have I blown it, now how are we going to

get me out of this?" I could cut them loose and and get out of their way and let them fix it. But we had mutual trust, too.

What I started to say, though, is I think it is very interesting seeing now how much of this type of leadership style is being taught and offered to people who were previously much more authoritarian. "I am the leader and that is it and I don't want to hear a word out of you. Do it because I said for you to do it."

We don't have room for much of that type of leadership anymore. In this day and age of dealing with human beings in a very complex world, I think we are fools if we don't have the more inclusive type of leadership. This way people begin to feel ownership of the organizations to which they belong through participation. It is the leader who has to bring it out.

I think women have been very good at doing this. There are some women who are miserable at doing this. I have met some very dictatorial female leaders, too. It turned out, some of them have told me that is how they felt they had to be to be successful. That will guarantee no success, unless you are comfortable with the leadership style you are using.

I don't think there is gender per se that has to be dealt with in the Army. There is nothing more inefficient than people. They will screw you up in more ways than you can think of. I don't care how good you think you are, people are, by and of themselves, inefficient critters to deal with. So, it takes a flexible leadership style, a leader who is competent, communicates well, comfortable in their humanity, who I hope has a good sense of humor in this world, to deal with the modern soldier, sailor, airman or marine; and the non-commissioned officers; and the tremendous mix of requirements and mobilizations and pressures that are brought to bear upon the commander of today.

I have seen women and men both do it miserably and I have seen men and women do it magnificently. I am always afraid of that guy who doesn't trust anybody, who micro-manages, and keeps a notebook that big with 200 tabs on it to give him statistics on everything. If he or she has got one that big then they are not getting out from behind their desks and finding out what is happening in their organizations. There are a lot of people who can do that fluidly. Any other questions.

LTC TILLMAN: When did you attend the War College? When did you go there.

BG FOOTE: I was there in 1976, 1977.

LTC TILLMAN: The flexibility that you are talking about strikes me because right now they talk about leadership styles. I think the problem that we have is that they are talking about it at the big school in terms of managing a staff. However, there still aren't enough people out there who believe it.

It is the Officer's Efficiency Report kind of thing; "I know what you say that the school says we are supposed to be talking about and teaching, but I think this is the right way to do it."

It seems to happen to people who are dictatorial or micromanagers and still are not allowing their young officers, enlisted and NCO staff to develop and grow as they should.

BG FOOTE: The way I look at it, from the time I was a lieutenant colonel on, I felt like I no longer had real life and death control over that troop. I lost that after company commander. That was the job where every troop I owned was really mine. From then on they belonged to somebody else. My job was to facilitate command; make sure that the commander commanded, and take care of the problems with the overhead that we all have.

I felt that after getting away from that, I had to educate officers to believe that if they don't have confidence in themselves I want to know why because it is going to permeate everything that they do. They are not going to be effective in the long run. The same thing with the non-commissioned officers. So, I looked at education as being the most important mission that I had.

Another thing I started doing as brigade commander and had a ball doing was when you had to develop a list of goals for the unit. The last one I would always put down there was to have fun. It drove some of my commanders nuts. Then I would pass it out. I gave it to the staff and I said, "here is mine." It doesn't mean you have to put anything in there at all. I just want you to know how I feel about it.

I started getting some of them to put it in there. I said, "this is a humanizing experience. You might as well accept the fact that you are going to screw up a lot and you are going to make a lot of mistakes. As long as you make different mistakes and don't bring the same one to me every day, that is fine. You will never see it in your OER." But it really takes a lot of working with them to make them believe that you are serious about this.

I have also seen the people who say, "this is not a zero defects operation." When it is time to write the OER and all of a sudden, Godzilla has ridden right through you and that is the first time that you are being counseled about it, that is not right.

DR. MARLOWE: Getting back to the leadership issue, the Army, I think, probably has some of the best leadership policy documents ever written. If we behaved according to regulation 22-100, this would be an Army that would be transcendental. Why don't people take it seriously?

BG FOOTE: I have come right back one more time to what I think is a huge fear syndrome out there on the part of people who have been very successful in how they have acted so far; that they are going to keep on the same way, even after their War College experience and their year of reflection.

I throw that in because I taught on the faculty of the War College for three years. I spent three years dealing with these over achievers who are on their way, they hoped, to be either an admiral or a general, or an SES.

These people want perfection. Well, they don't want perfection but the perception of perfection; they want cover up. They want it to look perfect, whether it is or not. If it looks perfect and they haven't had any problems along the way, that tells me this outfit hasn't done a darned thing. I want to see the scuff marks around the edges to know that they have really gone out and are doing something.

It all ties into careerism. With all we try to do to get rid of careerism, careerism reigns.

DR. MARLOWE: We have made it an official policy term in the personnel community; careerist versus short termist.

BG FOOTE: Yes, absolutely. Now we are talking about the stations of the cross you are going to walk if you are going to be a commander. If you are not going to be a commander you are not going to walk those stations of the cross. There are going to be some others and you are going to be three steps behind me. That is wrong. I don't think we should ever create that type of a mind set, that these are the things that I have to do to succeed, but we do.

DR. MARLOWE: In a sense, the Navy has it organizationally, because if you are not on a restricted line commission, if you are yards and docks, or medical, or what have you, you have a completely different career pattern than the people who are on restricted line. You never expect to get above a certain level.

BG FOOTE: Yes. To me, some of the happiest colonels in the Army I have ever found are the permanent associate professors up at West Point or at the War College, who have said, "hey, I am very happy to be doing what I am doing. I have good quality of life. I don't want stars on my shoulders, and I will go for this and be the best doggone permanent assistant professor that they have." I see nothing wrong with that.

We have this upward and onward type of mentality where we have to constantly be reaching for the sky. I don't know how we are going to overcome that.

One of the neat things about coming through the Army in the years that I did, when everything that happened was impossible yesterday but tomorrow you do it, was the expectations were far less than were demands. We were brought up to be of service to the rank above and we never thought about it. If promotion does happen, great. If it doesn't happen, no big thing; there is something else in the world of value.

That is the way I feel about military service. Sometimes I think we need permanent sergeants again, people who don't do anything but be permanent sergeants or permanent captains. People who don't have to worry about whether

they end up being the best captain at the post, and quit worrying about this constant upward mobility. I think it is artificial. It is not the real world.

DR. MARLOWE: It was affirmed by McNamara and the whiz kids who gave us a system we can't break away from.

BG FOOTE: I used to preach with the IG that what we called the fully successful career is not colonel, it is lieutenant colonel. It always will be and should be.

If you have made lieutenant colonel, you are good; you have to be. If you made colonel, then you had a lucky star out there somewhere. If you make general, you are darned lucky with great timing and help with who is sitting on your promotion board.

There are things that we need to do to enhance achievement, not at the colonel level, but below, to make people feel better about the quality of their service. We lose some of our best people after 20 years of service because they feel it is all over. "We might as well get out now because I have kids to put through school. All I will get is lieutenant colonel, I am not going to be a brigade commander." They leave with a sense of failure and that is wrong.

DR. MARLOWE: We have never been able to accept, every time we tried it, paying people for their skill rather than for the number of people they have under them.

BG FOOTE: Right. In this diversified Army now, I think at least in the Office of Personnel Management, they realize that what we have been preaching is career doctrine and now that isn't going to hold up. We have to go back to the drawing board and come up with the career schematics again.

Yet, we are the only service in the world, or the only profession I guess, that broadcasts its failure. When I say that, the perception of failure, I refer to when they put out a promotion list. Somebody's name is on there who is in this year group. We have just made that person feel that tunnel.

Selective early retirement boards are a horrible feeling. I sat on two of those just before I retired. It is the worst board duty that I ever had. You are selecting people who are truly outstanding, serving beautifully, but because of the numbers crunch, somebody has got to go. Who do you pick to go?

I can't imagine a worse thing to happen than to be told by your service, which had already told you that you were good for 30 years, "oops, you can stay in only 28 years. Good-bye, we need your seat," and it happens. I hope we are through these SERB's for the time being. We should have done most of the draw down now. It is a tenuous time for those who continue the profession. Sometimes you wonder, why would any young man or woman come into it and stay? Probably

for the same reason that I did. They didn't promise me anything but two years if I kept my nose clean. Then after that, I was indefinite for 22 years. They didn't promise me anything and things happened and I never expected it, anyhow. I hope we do hang on to very good young men and women, because we have got the best armed forces today that we have ever had. That is one of the things that impressed me with the young MP's that I had in Europe. They were configured in six companies, with 37 field offices in two countries. There were NCO's running those field offices, because we certainly didn't have the officers to do it. They were terrific. Give them a little bit of responsibility and freedom and let them make decisions, and you have something good going for you. Of course, that is one of the outfits that got bagged in the draw down. The UHS flag was folded with the draw down in Europe. But still, those kids went somewhere else, and they are great. Any other questions? We are on your time now.

MAJ SUTTON: I would be interested in your thoughts on mentorship and how you can facilitate that with both men and women soldiers.

BG FOOTE: I really believe in mentorship, and speaking about that, I come back to one thing about the young women today. Many of the young women do not want to be referred to as women soldiers. They don't want to belong to women's organizations. They want to be main lined in the Army. We are beginning to convince them, however, that it is a very helpful thing to mentor with female officers of your own sex to socially exchange career experiences and see how things go along. I am a great believer in mentoring and in networking. In mentoring, I like to get to the point where the person goes far beyond the need of my mentoring and begins mentoring on their own. Then you break that relationship and you create a different one. I think mentoring is very important.

I think the people should be very careful about who they pick as their guiding light. They had better make sure that this is a person whose values I share, whose advice I need in my life and in my career. Sometimes the mentors, I think, give wrong, self-serving advice

MAJ SUTTON: Thank you very much, General Foote.

BG FOOTE: Oh, it is my pleasure. Thank you. I enjoy doing seminars like this because no matter how times change and structures change and what the Army reconfigures itself into, it still comes down to, the Army that is best is the Army that is best led. I don't think leadership is one of those things that diminish, wane or wax over time. The need for a strong leader in the NCO's and in the officers is, to me, permanent. It will always be there, whatever the configuration. We need caring, human people in the military. To me, if you are willing to admit you are a caring human person, you will be a better officer or NCO.

DR. URSANO: I have only one question; which office are you running for, because I want to vote.

BG FOOTE: Believe it or not, for the first time in my life, I got politically active with Clinton-Gore and served on the national task force for veterans, the Clinton board. I have turned down every political offer that comes. If you take political office, you can't open your mouth and say anything. I have too many opinions.

The book on Women in the Military, the revised edition that came out in 1992, written by General Jeanne Holme is probably the finest anthology we have of the history of women in the armed forces. She has brought it up through DESERT STORM now. As she says, it continues to be an unfinished revolution. Thank you very much.

Naval Aviation: Stressors of Acculturation - Past and Present

CAPT Rosemary B. Mariner, USN

CAPT Rosemary Mariner is assigned to the Joint Staff of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, serving as the Evaluation Branch Chief for the Evaluation and Analysis Division, Directorate for Operational Plans and Interoperability. In this capacity she is responsible for executing the Chairman's Evaluation Program, which provides an independent field assessment of the unified combatant commanders' preparedness to carry out their assigned missions as demonstrated during real world joint operations and CINC-sponsored exercises. CAPT Mariner was the first military woman to command an operational aviation squadron and she has been selected for major aviation shore command. During Operations DESERT SHIELD and STORM, she commanded Tactical Electronic Warfare Squadron THIRTY FOUR (VAQ 34) which operated A-7E, EA-7L, and ERA-3B aircraft flown and maintained by 300 officer and enlisted personnel. Based at NAS Lemoore CA < the squadron provided electronic warfare training for Atlantic and Pacific Fleet Carrier Battle Groups deploying to the Persian Gulf. She is scheduled to assume command of a naval air station in the summer of 1995.

CAPT MARINER: I have been in the world of Naval aviation since I was 19 years old when I joined the Navy. I joined the Navy only to fly. I was very much one of those lucky women that was coming out of college when the women's movement was opening things up. Make no mistake about it, naval aviation would not have opened to women in 1973 if it had not been for the Equal Rights Amendment, the bra burners and all the political pressures that were brought to bear by the women's movement.

The second important factor in opening up opportunities in the military for women was the beginning of the all volunteer force. When the draft ended, the controversies surrounding that began. Admiral Zumwalt, who was the Chief of Naval Operations at the time, had a lot of decisions to make on how he was going to bring the Navy, which was probably one of the more traditional services, into this new environment. He knew historically, every time there was a greater need for personnel in the military, women (or whatever group they didn't normally like to include) would have to be utilized. He looked at women as a means of answering some of the problems that he was going to face. Even though the Navy didn't draft during that period of time, we certainly were benefitting from people who would rather be on ships than out in the jungle in Vietnam.

When I joined, I had no intention of staying. I did have an advantage in that I had been the only woman, the first woman, at Purdue University's aviation program. Actually they had a long history with women starting with Amelia Earhart. This particular foundation was a non-profit organization that was affiliated with the university that had sponsored her last flight around the world. Since that time, I was the first woman actually accepted into that program. That was an eye opener for me. I was 17 when I went to Purdue. It was a very small program with about 20 men altogether. It was good preparation for what I was going to encounter in the Navy.

Even with that background, I was pretty naive about what was going to happen. Sometimes ignorance is bliss. If you know what's ahead of you, you probably wouldn't do a lot of these things. That was one of the distinctions that I think separates women from the blacks that were in my class. We were ignorant of what was ahead of us and we didn't have any defense mechanisms for that. Whereas, there were two black men in my high school class. I noticed that both of them walked into that environment, or whatever the situation was, knew what the stereotypes were against them and always worked to counter them. On the other hand, all of the women had been very successful in whatever we had done before. We were all young and ready to take the world on. It never dawned on us that we were not on the A team, not one of the privileged.

As time went on, the first differences were immediate. Because you were a woman, and for no other reason, there were many things you were not allowed to do. That started out with my class. We were not allowed to carrier qualify as part of our flight training and we were not allowed to go into the tactical jet pipeline training. Now, carrier qualification is probably the biggest distinction because at that point in time, all Naval aviators landed aboard ships before they got their wings. That was, whether you ever used it or not again, very much a defining element of being a Naval aviator.

Regardless of our flight training evaluation rate (and I had prior flight time, so I naturally did well in this early phase) women were not allowed to select for the jet pipeline. This was even though there were men in my class who had lower ratings. I had the highest rates in that particular element and there were people way down below average that picked up jets. That was the preliminary double standard. Everything that was going to come ahead was still going to be in the context of being a woman.

The women that entered Naval aviation were not shy passive people. They had obviously a pretty strong self esteem. Although I think I was the only one that had an aviation background, that probably doesn't matter in general military flight training. Prior flight time has very little to do with whether you succeed or fail in military aviation. I think our natural predilection when we encountered this was to fight it. So in the case of the carrier qualification, for example, all six of the women aviators ended up signing a letter requesting permission to carrier qualify. That was the first time that we would be told "no", of course. This foreshadowed the kind of response that we had to fight that was ahead of us. I used the word fight on purpose because that's very much the way I have come to view it over the years. It was a fight.

Now, I'm part of what I call the "first or never generation." We were the first females in 7D, first firefighters, first policemen. We didn't have any other choice. If we weren't first, then we would never get anywhere. Being first has many advantages and disadvantages. The very first one gets a lot of publicity and it's kind of head turning. You have, for example, women aviators mentioned in the Johnny Carson monologue. I distinctly remember that "have your picture in the paper, be on TV" kind of stuff.

In the context of integration, that publicity generated tremendous resentment. That resentment was not focused on the people that were forcing us to do this (and we were literally ordered to do this), it was focused on the women. You are going to see that response over and over again. Whenever the institution for whatever reasons, benevolent or malicious, decides they're going to treat women differently, the resentment and hostility is focused on the women.

However, it also gave us some visibility. When you are first and you have visibility, people are somewhat hesitant to go after you because others will notice. It's also nice to be well known. There is a lot of ego in that. In Naval aviation and tactical aviation for all services, ego is a big part of it. When you go to a party or something, you flash your wings around. You are never going to lack for attention, which means that when you succeed, you succeed big and when you fail, you fail big, too. It also has a lot to do with burdens that you carry for other people. Everybody understood implicitly that if they failed, other women would be judged accordingly. We were all scared of the first accident; the first time a woman would be killed in an accident, which we knew would happen. Aviation is full of that, particularly Naval aviation. Heaven help us if they were having their period at that time. Somebody would read something into that. As a consequence we were very careful about things, in addition to all the things people normally worry about in aviation. We always had that in addition to everything else. You are on stage performing all the time.

One of the things that did not happen, and I think this was also repeated in military academies, is that the women did not necessarily pull together. There was no internal support mechanism there for three major reasons. One being we didn't all like each other. Just because we were women did not mean we were all soul mates. Two, women that grouped together or anything that identified you as women was bad. What you wanted to do was blend, become invisible. This was particularly acute in military academies. This is true of many people I've talked to over the years in these programs. The last thing they wanted to do in the early days was organize as women because then they would be different from men. They would stand out. The other thing was women competed against other women. In the Navy, that was literally true up until legislation was passed. Women in the Navy, unlike the Air Force, competed only against other women for promotions. That didn't get changed until about 1980-81. In the Army, I would have to go back and look because there was the Women's Army Corps (WAC). In the Air Force, women had been integrated as part of the Armed Forces Integration Act of 1948. That had not been true in the Army until they finally got rid of the WAC's.

Women competing against women in racial integration circles is called the "best black phenomenon." It goes back to, "here you're all a token of some sort and we have to have one put out there, so which is the best woman or the best black?" That's going to be the person that gets picked for the various good deals, whatever they may be.

However, a couple of us female aviators have maintained very close friendships over the years, even though our paths went in very different directions. That certainly helps when it comes time to let off steam or commiserate or whatever, which is an important fact in this.

Another thing that was very important was whether or not you were married. I am a firm believer to this day that the fact that I was married and I had my husband, who was super, made a difference for me. His mother is a professional woman who went through her own series of problems in what is a traditional area, home economics and family. She's a retired Associate Professor of Family Life at the University of Tennessee. Yet her stories of what happened in cooperative extension and that whole area 40 or 50 years ago was very similar. My husband allowed me to go home at night, and when I just wanted to go punch somebody or cry myself to sleep, I had somebody there.

The women, and this is true in a lot of professions, that didn't have that family had it very tough. In some cases, we had women whose families rejected them because they had gone into the military. I will never forget meeting a young woman in the Visiting Officer's Quarters years ago, who was a Naval Academy graduate from one of the early classes, whose father basically disowned her. It's hard to believe that to some degree it may still happen today.

Since all of you are familiar with the military, I think you can understand when I say that my 22 years in uniform parallels what I call, not a revolution, but an evolution. It was actually the second time around. If you go into the history of women in the military in this country, it is amazing what you find. This is the kind of thing that is not taught. It shouldn't be taught only in women's programs. It should be taught as part of the history of your service.

You had women, contract nurses for example, aboard ship during the Civil War and the Revolutionary War; Molly Pitcher, for example. What people don't know is that she received a pension; a revolutionary retiree. Margaret Corbin has a statue at West Point to her. There is also one of Joan Clark. Obviously, you can move back through history with the nurses. That was acceptable service for women of the time. There was also Dr. Mary Walker during the Civil War who was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor.

The big watershed period was World War I in which the Navy, for example, enlisted 20,000 yeomanettes. People in the Navy don't realize that 20,000 is a lot of people. They did so well in administrative areas that Naval aviation, which was in its infancy at that time, wanted to retain them. A group of men who were very familiar with the yeomanettes during World War I laid the foundation for the Navy to bring in the Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service (WAVES) in World War II.

These women, in what was to become a very classical pattern, received recognition during the war and immediately after. However, within six months to a year, that's all forgotten. The next thing to happen was that the Navy tried to take away their veteran status, or whatever the benefits were at the time. It was very interesting to go back and read this history. You see women who served in World War I going to Congress demanding legislation to restore some of the veterans benefits that went to everybody else that served.

You also see in that story another typical character who is the man that helps women's issues. There's usually one central male figure, in this case it was the Secretary of the Navy, who was very supportive. Because of his position and power, he made a difference. That kind of sponsorship or mentorship plays very strongly in the integration of women in the armed forces.

World War II was the next big watershed period. There were more women on active duty in World War II than were on active duty in recent times, up until about 1988. There were about 200,000 women who served in the armed services. In the Navy, there were about 80,000 which was almost double what we have today. Those women performed in non-traditional areas. They worked as mechanics, trained aviators, and in navigation. Before the war ended, they actually started to train women as navigators; they were called air observers in those days. The experiences across the board with all the services were very positive.

That led to a couple of things in the post-war environment that were important. The Armed Forces Integration Act of 1948 was the big legislation at that point which allowed women to be part of the regular armed forces. Women were now in the regular Navy. They were no longer the WAVES which was a reservist, volunteer type of auxiliary.

However, during this period of time when the legislation was drafted, a couple of things happened that also set the tone. For example, there has never been any statutory prohibition against Army women in combat. The Army didn't want any statutory exclusion. The Navy didn't want any either and they testified to that effect. However, Congressman Carl Vinson, who was very powerful, was the driving force behind the law that prohibited women from serving aboard vessels in the Navy. This did not apply to hospital ships and transports. As a result of that, the Navy women were excluded from what was in fact the central part of the Navy.

The Air Force had similar statutory restrictions for female aviators as did the Navy. Women were not allowed to fly aircraft engaged in combat missions. Those restrictions were codified under Title X which is where most of the law that deals with officer personnel issues is located.

There were other things within that body of legislation. No more than 2% of the total force could be female. The percentage of women officers would be included in that 2%. Another feature of the law was that women could not rise above the permanent pay grade of O-5. That restriction was removed by Executive Order of President Johnson in '67. That 2% number hung around for a long time.

At this time, there were strict legal restrictions on what was going to happen with women in the armed forces. The other issue that was central and critical was that by policy, not by law, women that got pregnant were kicked out. That did not change until I had been on active duty for a couple years; it changed around 1976. That was the result of a lawsuit. It went to the Supreme Court. I believe General Holm is very familiar with that because she was in the Air Force at the time. She encouraged this young woman to pursue it. Another issue which was decided in the courts was women's pay. In order for women married to civilians to collect Basic Allowance for Quarters (BAQ) at the higher dependent rate, they had to prove that their husbands were more than 50% dependent on their wives' salaries. No such restriction existed for men who could be married to neurosurgeons that were drawing income of \$100,000 a year and still receive the dependent rate BAQ.

The pregnancy issue, in effect, forced a woman to make the choice between a career and a normal family life. That was a choice no man ever had to make. Even those women that made the career choice had careers that consisted of table scraps. You weren't going to be Chief of Naval Operations. You were going to be in a ladies auxiliary and keep in your place. When I came in the Navy in '73, there were 700 women officers total. There was only one woman that was a captain.

When I came in this whole thing was exploding and changing. While I was in Officer Candidates School (I went to Women's Officer's School- I was in the last class that did that), they did away with Pers K and with a separate female chain of command. I think that existed in the Army a lot longer than it did in the Navy. They started opening things up and they started removing some of the restrictions.

PARTICIPANT: Can I ask a question? Did the policy exclude women just during their pregnancy? What about women who had children before joining the military?

CAPT MARINER: In that case, under certain limited conditions, you could enlist. A woman had to give up custody of her child.

PARTICIPANT: That's why Dr. ____ took so long to come on active duty. She is one of our faculty members here. Even to be a physician on active duty, she would have had to give up her children. She didn't come on active duty for her residency until the law was changed in '73 or '75 allowing her to have children and still be on active duty.

CAPT MARINER: My mother was in the Navy Nurse Corps during World War II; she was an anesthetist. At that time, if you got married, they kicked you out. Although there were a lot of women in the military that were married, they just didn't confess. There was some improvement there.

What I'm describing to you is overt segregation and discrimination in what I call the "Jane Crow" world. If you grow up black in this country, particularly if you are a certain age and you've personally experienced racial segregation, you have some understanding of the kind of environment that occurs. Women entered the military who had never been discriminated against like that in their lives. All of a sudden there they are. The experiences that women had in the military were never as violent or as despicable as what black Americans went through but they were similar. Nobody was fire bombing our children or anything like that. That price was paid by people in the civil rights movement. However, it's the same kind of "Jane Crow" situation where you have no status. You are less than human. People can do and say whatever they want to you because you are not a full citizen or member of that group.

The early experiences in Naval aviation ran the gamut of people that did not want us there; many were very adamant. They just threw that in your face. I could tell you stories all day long which resulted from that. When that happened to you, you had no choice but to suck it up. You didn't go run to the Equal Opportunity Council or complain about sexual harassment; that wasn't even talked about in those days. What you would hope for is that other people would notice. There were a lot of good people around. There were a lot of fair men and there were in fact some very supportive men. Somebody would notice what you were going through and pull off the dogs.

As a consequence, you tend to see women in these early generations having checkered careers. One place they're great, people love them; then they go some place else where they have a change in reporting senior official. They encounter a bigot or the terminology I use is the "jerk." When you work for that person all of a sudden nothing you do is right. If the "jerk" is stupid, he just slam dunks you and it's obvious. However, a lot of people are much more subtle. They will "damn you with faint praise." They won't give you the jobs that matter. In the aviation world, it was okay for women to be the administrative officer or the safety officer, but don't let them work in maintenance because that's a man's job.

The other part about this that's very important, particularly when you get in the medical side, is the distinction between officer and enlisted ranks. The military is very much a class system and a hierarchy. Young junior enlisted women are at the very bottom of that totem pole. The experiences of women officers may sometimes be bad, we have our share of horror stories, but we never had it as bad as some of the very junior enlisted women. At the same time that I came in we first started taking in large numbers of enlisted women and putting them in non-traditional fields.

Another big issue at this time was fraternization. Fraternization is defined as a relation between juniors and seniors. It is not men and women. Yet it was amazing that some men could rationalize that a woman isn't a soldier: "she isn't a girl officer, she's a woman first and I chase women. Therefore, that's how I'm going to deal with her." You would experience one command in which you had a very traditional, maybe more senior officer raised by the rule of the generation in which officers were gentlemen and there was very firm adherence to fraternization mores and performance. He might be very paternalistic or chauvinistic, but he didn't try to get you in bed with him.

You go from that kind of environment, which was at least professional and above board, to the environment where it was a free-for-all. One of the stories that was pretty famous came out of a very well known prestigious school called Top Gun in the Navy. This is going back quite a few years now. They had a lot of female junior enlisted and they called them the toys. The toys went on jets with you. These were junior enlisted women. The male pilots at Top Gun were sleeping with them right and left. In fact, in that kind of environment this was a way for these women to get recognition. It's almost like a young girl going to college who encounters this old man professor that nobody in the real world would pay any attention to. However, in that little society that man has power. At Top Gun, they would latch on to these pilots and that's how they got elevated in the organization. Fortunately, those days are just about over with for a variety of reasons. That was the other environment that you had to deal with.

I will make the distinction that my generation encountered this at its worst. What women face today has changed dramatically in the last 20 years. I'm going to jump now to a couple of other observations. It's the idea of being a minority, a member of a class in an institution in which a larger group of people considers you inherently inferior. You can sugar coat this any way you want, but the bottom line is that women are considered inferior.

That is how you justify, for example, combat exclusion. This applies to any kind of exclusion that's based on class. They can talk all they want about preserving society and taking care of the next generation and whatever the so-called societal arguments are about women in combat. However, the bottom line is that women are inferior and it's institutionalized. They don't want them around. Every time you allowed women into your group, then your group fell off the totem pole one notch. You really weren't macho or real combat troops if you had women.

I've often thought that my experiences were probably very similar to what the young black students who first entered the universities in the south experienced in the 1960's when they ended segregation. When you go back and you read a lot of literature on that experience, you tend to see the same kind of distribution. Ten percent of the people that you deal with will be very supportive. They think it's great you're there. They have daughters and they want to see you

succeed. They will go out of their way to help you, often at great personal expense. This whole idea about political correctness is a joke. Where I come from, being politically correct to this day means being against women. If you want to be accepted by the group, trash women. That's still going on horribly so right now because of Tailhook and a lot of other things. In that time frame in particular, in the first 10 years or so, it was not acceptable for men to support women; you were automatically suspect.

Then you had the other extreme. There are 10% who are the "jerks." "Jerks" are people who are probably failing in the organization and who blame all their problems on somebody else. They cannot accept that this is their own personal failure, so they have to transfer that to some other group. Women are an easy target for that. These are the people who say, "well, if it hadn't been for that woman, I would be a test pilot." They can indulge in some very petty, malicious behavior.

Very infrequently, in my experience, do you find the overt sexual harassment where somebody goes out and propositions you. "If you don't sleep with me, I'm going to demote you." That happens, but more commonly you find the kind of stuff where people leave things in your coffee cup or write nasty letters or make threats. This was probably the most common thing; you would be in a room but it was as if you didn't really exist. In the black experiences, it's called being the invisible man. People talk about women or about you as if you weren't even there. Your status in the organization is totally open to debate.

You have a lot of different choices in dealing with that. Women aviators react in certain ways because of our basic personalities. What draws people to Naval aviation tends to be a certain personality profile anyway. You need to develop a sense of humor, a comeback, or a satire, but you would have to make the point in some fashion. One of the best examples I saw of that in the Navy was a woman controller at Chicago O'Hare who had a busy day. She was on the radios and some men were giving her some grief. She came right back one day and said, "well, I'm just a woman, what's your excuse?" It threw the men off guard. That to me is one of the best ways of dealing with it.

If it was really malicious (and the most malicious hostile people are always the ones that are most insecure in themselves), you sometimes couldn't deal with it unless you went out or up the chain for help. I had to do that in several cases. Fortunately, I usually worked in an environment where there were enough good people there and supportive commanders that I could do that. Sometimes it was so obvious that somebody saved me.

One of the patterns that's very typical in this kind of behavior is that person wants you to work for him, because now he's got his thumb on you. He will go out of his way to get you to come work in his department or his division or his office. Once he writes your fitness report, he controls you. The same thing would happen with flight instructors who really couldn't stand women and had all these problems with women. They wanted the woman in their chain of command. That's one of those little patterns I looked for in hiring discrimination. I always look for that.

The remaining 80% are generally people that just want to know whether or not you can hack it. Most people have the same value system. They're there for the same reasons. There are a variety of reasons. These are the men that, within about a year's time frame, are working with you closely and will decide that you are one of them. You cross that threshold. The reason I am generally optimistic about gender integration is because, obviously, that is the majority group.

The problem comes when someone from that 10% of the "jerks" is one of your bosses or your commanding officer. Very commonly, women, because we were not allowed in these combat roles, were put in support squadrons. In the Navy, support squadrons in ships and units are where you tend to send people who have made mistakes. You tend to have a higher concentration of jerks in this area. In the Naval aviation world, the classic example is the passed-over-for-promotion lieutenant commanders who weren't going to go anywhere and who were your department heads. Not only might they have a problem with women, but in general they were very unprofessional.

It's bad enough if you're a young, naive officer and you go into an environment like that. Heaven help you if you're a young naive E-3 and this is the boss. You don't know where he really sits in the overall scheme of things and you put a lot more credence in that person than you ever should.

Well, my experience is different from what these women are going to go through that are entering today. They are still going to encounter a lot of the same things. That goes back to how they deal with minority groups, race, and gender in the military. This has been called the visual invocation of the problem. There's no way you can avoid this. When you walk into a room full of average white men and you're black or you're female, your physical presence evokes the stereotype. What that does is change the basic presumption of ability.

I use the example in Naval aviation. When we bring a young man into the program, the presumption is that he's going to succeed. He might not, but he has to prove himself unworthy of being there. However, when a woman or a black comes into the program, to this day, the presumption is that you're not qualified or you shouldn't be there. In fact, the presumption that you're not qualified, I think, is worse for blacks than it is for women. Women are usually considered, in the stereotypes of all this, smart enough. The presumption is that you're there as a quota; that you're getting some kind of special treatment or whatever the case is. You must disprove all this. You're not only proving your individual ability, you're proving the ability of your class.

This is going to go on for many years. I always thought it was an interesting statistic in the Navy. There were ceilings of eight a year (we're not talking quotas, we're talking hard ceilings) on the number of women that were admitted into aviation for almost 15 years, of which we never graduated eight in any year. Even with that kind of hard ceiling in the numbers, there are more women pilots on active duty in the Navy than there are black pilots. We're not there on the race side either.

Another thing you have to understand is the institution that you're talking about integrating. I will get on my soapbox a little bit with the medical side of the house. It may not be applicable in any of your cases, but it's an issue in the Navy. That is, you are a sailor or a soldier, an officer or a Marine first, and a woman or a doctor or whatever second. That's very important in the institution, the military identity. It is important to defining units in the overall scheme of things, obviously.

When you join these organizations, institutions and services, in the minds of the people that you're dealing with you are a soldier first. That to me is the key to integration. That identity sets up a field where you are judged as an individual. We could solve a lot of the world's evils if everybody were judged as an individual. It will be a long time before that happens, but that's the key.

In the military environment, leadership is absolutely critical. Leadership is critical to everything in the military and it actually makes integration easier. People like to criticize the military as not being a laboratory for social experimentation. Nonsense! The military is in social engineering and experimentation in a big way and always has been. This is true because you have a system of discipline in which you can establish a clear cause and effect relationship for misconduct, which tends to be very prevalent in young people anyway. Yet, you don't kill them. That's called non-judicial punishment. That whole structure of juniors and seniors and clearly defined roles and authority and discipline makes integration in the military much easier than many civilian institutions.

It's also one of the reasons why I think it's very important that we should not change the Uniform Code of Military Justice or alter our system of discipline over sexual harassment. Sexual harassment is nothing more than misconduct of the same basic nature. When you treat somebody that works for you - that you have responsibility for- in an irresponsible, negligent or harmful way, then not only are you removed from that environment, but you are typically punished for it. Sexual harassment is just a manifestation of that same kind of unprofessional behavior.

If you put it in a separate category, what you do is marginalize it. If I'm a commanding officer and I'm responsible for everything that happens in my command, including whether or not my sailors are being harassed for being women or being harassed for some other thing, and if you tell me that's an equal opportunity issue and you have to go see Social Actions, I don't have to worry about it. That is why you do not want side agencies taking care of these issues.

PARTICIPANT: Are there proposals to do that?

CAPT MARINER: Absolutely. I and a lot of my counterparts have spent a lot of time trying to convince people like Representative Schroeder, whose intentions are good, of this point of view. She sees all the threats. She sees every nasty case there is because she's kind of like the court of last resort. What she sees is that the system isn't working and therefore instead of saying that a lot of the individuals in the system are bad, she wants to alter the system. That's a very important thing to keep in mind about the military.

Another thing is the ethos of the institution. I'm a big fan of Carl Bilder who is a political scientist or sociologist at the Rand Institute. He's done an awful lot of work with the Army and now he's working for the Air Force. Probably his most popular book is called The Mass War. In that book, he talks about the analogy between the military services and religion. He talks about the altars that the services worship on. In the case of the Air Force, he says the Air Force worships the altar of technology. If they have to make choices in their institution, they will choose superior technology over superior quantity. I think a good example of that is the B-2. The Air Force will sacrifice five wings of aircraft to have money in the budget to buy this fancy airplane which has no mission.

Those are the kinds of choices they make. Now obviously, the Air Force came from the Army. Women aviators study the history of the Army Air Corps and the Air Force very closely because it was a successful example of how you keep the institution or the old guard alive. It also showed a lot about how things change and how change is mandated in the military. That's another story. The Air Force, with their technological icon of the airplane, was never going to be fully appreciated in the Army, and that's why they wanted their independence; which they got.

In the Army, Builder says that the central altar is duty to the country. It goes back to MacArthur, and the concept of the citizen soldier. In the Army's case, when there was war, most people who fought in the Army came from the civilian world. He talks about that sense of service and sacrifice and duty.

The Marine Corps represents loyalty; it's all those things, but probably taken to an extreme. The Navy, he says, worships on the altar of tradition of which the principal icon is absolute command at sea. Within the religious framework I liken the Navy to being Roman Catholic. There's the tradition out there and there's the reality. However, I think it is important because of that independent command at sea aspect. There is a lot of room in the Navy for what I call the renegades. The people that are independent or step out of line are tolerated. I have not seen that in the Army. I would not be around the Navy today if that was not true.

You can go back and you can look at Admirals Fisk and Sims. They were renegades in their time. The way they got recognition for that particular

capability was writing the Assistant Secretary of the Navy and going over everybody's chain of command. Yet these individuals made flag rank. To some extent, they were even recognized in their own time for what they had done. Admiral Rickover is the classic example. If the Navy had its way, they would have retired him as a captain, but he certainly understood that system.

Builder uses the example of Oliver Hazard Perry as being the epitome of this independent command at sea where a single captain of a Naval vessel could go to the other side of the world and open up Japan. I like to extend it to Star Trek and Captain Kirk. There's a reason why Star Trek has a fleet, and all the terminology is naval. It's not Air Force, it's naval.

That also goes back to the whole idea that service in the military is a religious vocation. However, there's the professional aspect and then there is the American military tradition. It has several unique aspects. If you go back and you study the history of our military, you see a great deal of concern about what the founding fathers had seen in England in Cromwell. There was the whole idea that tyranny was facilitated in societies by guardian classes of warriors. Therefore, when you look at our Constitution, when you look at our structure and the history - particularly of the Army - you see a very different pattern than what you see in Europe.

The founding fathers had very strong educations in the classics, Greek and Roman history and philosophy. They were big fans of the idea that one would be a farmer and a soldier. When you went and fought the wars, were victorious and came back to the home, you would have a private life. Therefore, in our tradition, you have state militias and citizen soldiers. The exception to that is probably the Navy because the Navy was brought into being for the same major argument we see today, which was forward presence. We had a Navy Department that was created because of pirates who were out there not only stealing our merchant vessels, but taking our sailors and civilian passengers as hostages in our part of the world, amazingly enough. We could not deal with these pirates with any kind of credibility without a Navy. We needed some kind of naval force to protect our commerce and our citizens.

In America, very few people served in the military except at times of war. This was true even during the period of the draft which is a very short period of time in this nation's history. During most of this history, conscription was horribly contentious, particularly in the Civil War and World War I. However, today in the classic example, the vast majority of American men do not serve in the military. With the exception of the Vietnam period, Korea, and World War II, the American male was not drafted or was not faced with conscription to serve in the military. Service during the 1950's was, I think, very much an issue of class. If you were in a small town and your family was well off and you were going to college, you probably would get a deferment.

That happens to be true all the way through Vietnam. We can witness some of the so-called conservative candidates that got college deferments during the Vietnam era. In the Reagan and Clinton White Houses we had those kind of people. There is this myth that American men serve in the military and women don't. In reality, the vast majority of men don't serve in the military, either.

However, the idea that men are warriors, that as citizens they could be drafted, plays to that sense that if they were needed, they could go; therefore they are more a citizen than females. I think that if you go back and you look at particularly Greek philosophy, there's a very strong thread that to be a full citizen one must be at least eligible to be a member of the guardian class. A lot of that is myth and not reality, but that's how it plays out.

Within the military we have these ideas about being an institution, a religious vocation, service, sacrifice and all that, but we also have an issue of culture. I think that when you talk about discriminating or excluding women, you're getting into cultural issues. That's where we talk about male culture, a predominantly white culture, and what I call subculture. For example, in the Navy, a lot of the stuff that you saw in Tailhook was not the dominant culture, it was a little subculture; an elitist kind of subculture that was going on.

Also, equally important is that in America, in all the armed services, when we take our oath of office, we do not take it to the emperor or the king or the fatherland or the dictator or whatever. We take it to uphold and defend the United States Constitution. This was a source of great debate among the Founding Fathers. It was a measure of their wisdom that the loyalty or the oath would be taken, not to the President, but to the Constitution; to uphold and defend it against all enemies, foreign and domestic. That goes back to their fear of tyranny; the threat of tyranny was as great from within as it was from without.

I bring that up to people because when they talk about women and the issue of rights, you have the right to serve in America and that's what you enlist to defend. A recurring theme in the Bill of Rights, and certainly the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution, was that Americans were to be measured as individuals. Where you were born, your clan, whether or not your father was an aristocrat, didn't matter in America. That's why people have left all these other societies, particularly England and Europe. You want to be judged and make your way in this world as an individual and not by an accident of birth.

When you talk about integrating women into the military, you look at them as individuals and whether or not as individuals they are an asset to the defense. I think you have perfect intellectual consistency to say it's important both in the interest of the national defense and in what you defend to have participation in the military based on individual ability and not class.

As psychologists or psychiatrists, you probably aren't going to see women in your office until things have gone really wrong. Because, for example,

in Naval aviation in particular, the last thing in the world an aviator is going to do is go see a shrink. No matter what the real story is, you just don't do that. I think you're more likely to see young enlisted women because the stigmas are not the same. They're not trying to be macho pilots and all that kind of stuff. You are going to see young confused women going through all the same problems that adolescents go through anyway with all this added pressure on them of being a woman in the military.

I always ask, when I'm counseling women like this, "why did you join? This is an all volunteer force. Nobody forced you into this. You must have had some reason for wanting to do this." Of course, there were a whole variety of responses, just like the men. Then I ask them what they expected, what their family backgrounds are - that's critical to how anybody adjusts to the military. As women, was there something in their background that prepared them for the fact that they were not going to be in an automatically accepted class or group and that they were going to be stereotyped in most of their experiences? Some have, some haven't. Some of them have a real problem dealing with, "how can I be a woman, how can I be a soldier?"

I spoke at the Naval Academy a couple of weeks ago, and this is just classic. This very attractive young woman (one of the few that had a skirt on I might point out) stands up and makes a statement about providing facilities for women in the field.

I pointed out to her that first of all, most of her statement was absolutely not true. Go talk to anybody that had been in the Gulf War. This whole idea of "the bathroom issue" (as we call it) being so crucial is silly. You, of course, in medicine understand that. There is no modesty in this world, really. Those are all social conventions. The reality is that men and women have lived in tents and done all these body functions and so forth with each other for years. They did it very recently in the Gulf War. There is a way to urinate and it's not a big deal.

Secondly, I thought, "what are you really saying, and why do you think you're going to elicit sympathy? Why would you stand up and say something like that?" What if you were a man and you stood up in this audience at a hallowed military academy and said, "I don't think that men should be in combat." You wouldn't say that. If you stood up and said, "I don't think I should be in combat because I would have trouble urinating in the field or I'm not sure I could run as fast," what you have just made is a declaration of something that is considered dishonorable. Now, if it is honorable for men to want to serve in combat, or at least to try, why is it dishonorable for women? If you're going to hold everybody to the same standard and judge them by the same value system, the fact of the matter is that it's as dishonorable for her to stand up and say that, as it would be for anybody else.

Every time you have this urge to stand up and say women shouldn't do something, I want you to say, "I shouldn't. Me. I as an individual." Then you have to ask yourself the question, "am I unwilling or unable?" Now the reason why people stand up and say that goes back to something that Francis Cook also points out. He refers back to Victor Lee, a former prime minister of Czechoslovakia. He refers to the idea that somebody would try to maintain their dignity by hiding behind the pretense of a myth. He was talking about communist countries where people do this by trying to hide behind a myth of socialism. They put some kind of sign in their window saying, "Workers of the World Unite Behind the Socialist Party" to keep the authorities off their back. Why did he do that? Well, the idea was to maintain some degree of self respect. He would hide behind this, but he really was afraid.

That's what you have with a lot of women. The idea of equality is very frightening. What you are hiding behind is the myth of what we call the true woman. Sandra Day O'Connor uses that term and I think it's a pretty good one. That's a very controversial issue in the so-called feminist circles because you have a current school of fringe academic feminists that talk about women's special nature. They espouse the whole idea that women have a higher, different moral reasoning than men. It goes back to this myth that women are somehow inherently different than men when it comes to issues of character or spirit.

In order to maintain the pretense that it's okay to want to be a coward and to hide behind your sex, you have to make all women like this, not just yourself. To me, that in a nutshell is the whole driving philosophy behind Phyllis Schlafly. The genesis of the anti-Equal Rights Movement and the backlash to the equity feminism, as it's called now, goes back to the idea that, "I would be judged by the same standards, potentially as harshly as men, if I enter this world." So for example, in Phyllis Schlafly's day, the epitome of being a woman was to marry well, be attractive, be smart and all these other things, and have a family. She had achieved that. Now, in order to gain the same recognition, she would have to go spend eight years in medical school and be a brain surgeon. Maybe she wouldn't see her family every night. Maybe she would have to make some of those difficult choices that men have always had to make, the sacrifices in their personal lives and all the hard work that's involved to get the same recognition.

There is also fear of physical danger. There are people, men and women, that are afraid of going out and doing crazy things like flying off aircraft carriers. Most men, if they're afraid of that, looking at it straightforwardly, just don't do it. Do they have the same macho prestige in the institution? No. That's why being a Ranger in the Army, for example, is so prestigious. It has to do with physical danger. That was the other thing that Builder talks about in the military. He talks about recognition. The driving motive in human beings is the desire for recognition. He talks about the desire for equal recognition, to be considered the equal of others, or a desire to be considered the superior of others. He views the military as feeling themselves superior to others because of the willingness to risk death. Warriors have that.

I expanded on that because I go back to the problem with bigotry and prejudice when you look at women or one class being superior to another class. I call that desire for unearned recognition. Not because of individual achievement, but because of birth. I am automatically superior to you. We know in the military, as in most areas of society, that's a real natural inclination. I want to be better than you. I want to go out someplace. I want to be better than you and I want to be recognized that way. You're dealing in the military with very competitive people who do that all the time, anyway. Men do it.

When a man walks into the room in the military, he reads all the ribbons and insignia, and he can figure out exactly where you are on the totem pole in about five seconds. He's also going to look at the physical composition of those people; which ones he can physically intimidate, which ones he would have to use his brains over brawn. That's all done in a matter of seconds. We, of course, promote that in how we train people because that kind of competitive spirit in warfare is a good thing.

I think that individual women that are going into the military or to so-called high performance groups can have that same kind of personality. You see young women where those systems are breaking down and they're having problems. I've noticed that they tend to develop physical manifestations. I'm sure there's a classic profile on this. You will see women start to get headaches or some physical problems that they've never had before. They probably will not do anything about that, they will just deal with it. They will look for an escape. A lot of healthy people are not up to being dumped upon all the time and they're not masochistic. They will go find something else that gives them satisfaction in this world, or they will look for an out.

The honorable thing to do in the military if you can't deal with whatever it is, is to do your time and get out. If you're 18 years old and you're a young man, and the military isn't what you thought, one of the things you might think about doing is smoking marijuana. If you establish a pattern of misconduct such as receiving captain's mast three times for testing positive on the urinalysis and for mouthing off to the chief or whatever, I can discharge you for the convenience of the government. Young people go for easy outs.

In the military for women, one of the easy outs right now is pregnancy. Most of these young women don't think about it in this sense. I don't think it's a conscious, well thought out decision like your teenage counterparts who get pregnant in high school. It's an emotional not rational decision, but what they're looking for is an escape. The pregnancy policy can facilitate that. Also, many men are extremely paternalistic about pregnancy. We used to joke about this all the time. It was like they had this stereotype that every woman that was pregnant was a potential Private Benjamin that was eight months and going to miscarry right there in front of them and they were going to get sued for this or something. That is, first of all, simply not the case. Young female sailors could get out of working on the line because it is a dangerous environment, although

there are things they could be doing out there working around airplanes that certainly would not endanger the baby. They get to go back and work in the office behind a nice comfortable desk; sit down and wear nice clothes and not be a grease monkey all the time. People pay attention to you.

Something may be wrong with the environment in which the pregnancy occurs. I always call this the visible barometer of command morale. When the pregnancy rate goes up, particularly in a first term enlistee, women under 24 years old, it's just like the drug rate went up. Something is wrong in that command. Men might be exercising the misconduct route to get out. Women, similarly, can exercise the pregnancy route. It doesn't necessarily mean it's going to get them out of the service but it gets them out of that command; gets them away from it. If they really want to get out, they might be able to. I'm very much opposed to the idea that you can get out *de facto*, just for being pregnant. I think you should have to prove hardship like a man does if his wife deserts him and leaves him with three kids, which sometimes happens, too. There are a lot of men who would be more than willing to let you get out because you're pregnant. Women are problems. Get them out, boom.

About the seventh month or so, particularly if she doesn't have a husband, the light comes on. "Oh my God, I've got to take care of this child." Now she has to stay in. We've actually seen a pretty amazing metamorphosis in people where they became the most squared away sailor around because they had this responsibility. That's what was happening.

It is a concern to me because of one of the other issues of pregnancy. It's hard to believe in this day and age, but it's very true. You have a real problem with education. When I came in the Navy for example, they used to do abortions in military hospitals. Then we had the Hyde Amendment which would not allow that. You had young women that because of the stigma might well resort to a back door operation. One of the contributing factors is the lack of information provided or the fear of putting out very frank birth control information to the men as well as the women, for fear that they would be criticized by some perceived conservative element. I'm not sure that ever would have happened, but the fear was enough to make people back off from a sensitive topic.

The most effective person I ever saw who handled this was a woman warrant officer and a corpsman who had an illegitimate son. We would get her to come over to the squad with the men and the women and talk about what it was like to raise a young boy and what she said to him when he asked who his father was. She succeeded at this, but it was very hard. It was a nice way of putting a little reality into some of these adolescents little universes about what it was like to have a child.

There were policies in order to save money, and I don't know if this is still going on or not, but the Navy would not refill prescriptions except for three month intervals. There you are trying to get birth control pills and every three months you have to go through all this.

When I was a flight instructor, some captain down at the Aerospace Medical Center unilaterally decided that he was going to ground women for something like six months for taking birth control pills. When I came into the Navy in '73, we had this OB/GYN doctor who decided that he was going to put us on birth control pills because it would clear up our skin. This was when the estrogen doses were very high. There's probably no medication on this planet that's been more tested and more observed than birth control pills. Even NASA would not presume to ask a female astronaut that kind of question. If there were a problem, it would be by exception and you deal with it.

Yet this man comes up there and announces this in a newsletter to the flight surgeons in this weird chain of command that they had. I don't think it was legal, but they had created an unofficial chain. I say this because, in the Navy, flight surgeons work for the commanding officer. My flight surgeon worked for me. He did not ground anybody. I grounded people based on his recommendations. A very important point in control. In the Navy, it's very clear that the line controls the staff. That's not necessarily true in the Air Force.

This man in some informal fashion had told all the flight surgeons that women aviators were grounded for six months if they started birth control pills. We've got six women flying jets in my command. Are you saying that they're going to have to be celibate? What if they got raped or something, were they going to get grounded for six months in the middle of an expensive training? No way. What did people do in that situation? They lied. They go to see a civilian doctor and they get their prescriptions. They take care of what they have to do and they don't tell you. Always be careful when you make policies like that, which are irrational and stupid and which smart and rational people aren't going to follow. They're going to find a way to get around them.

There's a joke in the Navy that women aviators only have five month pregnancies. For whatever reasons the Navy would stop your flight pay if you were grounded for nine months. At least the Navy would let you fly when you were pregnant. The Army would not only take you off flight status, they took you out of the Aviation Branch. What you do in the Navy is you finally go in at the fourth month or so and start the wheels turning to get a waiver. That way you're never in danger of losing your flight pay.

Of course, I have an almost five month old baby at home right now and I was in a ground job. I didn't have to worry about these things, anyway. I went in and told the flight surgeon the whole routine. My pregnancy waiver showed up on November 1st and my baby was born November 11th. Come on. So that's the other aspect of pregnancy that other people have to understand.

There are women who would use it as an excuse to get cushy jobs and get off the ship and all that kind of stuff. You also have about the same number of women who, when they are pregnant, will do everything in their power not to do anything. My mother worked 12 hour shifts in the operating room in anesthesia for years and carried each of her babies to at least two weeks before delivery. There's a high correlation with miscarriage rates and working in anesthesia. She had a number of those. That's a classic pattern with women in these areas. I've had women sailors that I had to plead with to get off the airplane because they were making me nervous in the latter stages.

Most combat positions are open to women except in the Army and the Marine Corps, which is a very significant thing in those services, because that's still the core of the service. The women are excluded from the inner sanctum. That means they are inherently and institutionally inferior. You're still defined by your gender in the Army and the Marine Corps and by what you're going to do. In the Navy and in the Air Force, most of the restrictions are gone now.

What they're focusing on now is pregnancy which is another way of talking about deployability and this whole thing about cohesion, which to me is classic. Cohesion is not a function of homogeneity. If it was, we would have everybody the same height, the same color, and the same background. In fact, the Army has even gone so far in some cases to justify enlisting brothers and putting them in the same unit together. They are also examining enlisting people and pre-assigning them to units under this guise of cohesion

We know from centuries of experience in the profession of arms that cohesion is a function of leadership; taking very diverse groups and forging a common identity and purpose. I will use a sports analogy in the sense of how you get on a team. What position you play on the team is a function of your individual ability. Once you're on that team, you're playing for the team. The team puts points on the scoreboard. With the cohesion issue, what they're really talking about is that women aren't real members of the team. The argument translated is that the prejudices of others are a justification to discriminate. Be careful when you see that kind of stuff thrown around.

Paternalism. One of the things you will often hear is that the Israelis don't let women into combat because in the war or the revolution for independence, the Arabs killed women. The men couldn't stand that; couldn't stomach it. First of all, that's not true. That's one of those stories that nobody can ever track down. There's no doubt in my mind that if the Arabs were crossing the border, that the Israelis would put every man, woman, and child in there and do everything they could to hold the line. They're pretty up front about that.

But Israeli society is not American society. Israel is a highly socialistic country in which there's no pretext of individual rights. Religion and the state are one and the same, when it suits certain purposes. Politically speaking, people don't want to deal with that issue because it will alienate the religious element in orthodox Israeli society and because the structure of government is so precarious given their coalitions. That's one issue that people don't take on. Although in Israel right now there is a movement to open up combat positions which is being led by Moshe Dayan's daughter; poetic justice. But that goes back to the statement that it's not a good analogy anyway because Israel and the United States are fundamentally different societies.

We know in all these other high performance groups - medicine is a classic example as are police forces - that men and women who share the same value systems and are there for the same reasons can get along just fine, thank you very much. These are high performance groups where the stakes are high; the price of failure is death. That goes back to the military. There's no reason why the military should be inherently any different. In fact, the military, for the most part, doesn't deal with life and death situations except for war. These other professions deal with it on an every day basis.

I talk about this kind of discrimination as a peace time luxury. You will see that. In the Gulf War, were people asking all these questions? No, they weren't. "Go and we will sort it out later." Then there is "who would be drafted in this country" and all this talk about the draft. Right now, on the rolls, the medical professions including nurses are the first ones to be drafted; predominantly females. It's in all emergency plans. You will see that one batted around a lot, though. Pregnancy is going to get batted around, because that's the big obvious physical difference. The point there in an individual sense is not that people get pregnant because they're women, they get pregnant because as individuals they make a choice. Alternatively, they engage in certain kinds of conduct that lead to this predictable outcome, which is not a terminal disease or highly contagious as a lot of people like to look at it. I think the words we're using now are altered physiological condition. It's definitely finite and that's an area where I think we are far too restrictive in the military. In a normal pregnancy, a woman can be extremely productive. There are some behaviors she's going to alter, some things she's not.

In my opinion, I think it should be left to the commanding officer, the attending physician and the individual as to how they're going to work around the pregnancy in her individual case. It is not like we have so many women around that you can't do that. The worst thing you could do is what the Navy is doing right now, although it's better than it used to be. The Navy comes out and says a woman is going to get pulled off of a ship. A pregnant woman is not to remain aboard a ship under normal operations. They basically came out and told commanding officers that they had to take women off of the ship. If I were a commanding officer of a ship and I read the current Navy guidance, that's the only thing I could conclude. You also have this caveat on their shipboard operations that you have to be within six hours of a medical evacuation to hospital facilities.

Let me think about this now. When I was pregnant, I could get on an airplane and fly to London. I was nowhere near that kind of medical care. In fact, I could be at the Naval Air Station in Pensacola, Florida and the nearest OB/GYN was miles away at the hospital because they didn't do that kind of thing at Pensacola. It's all a big farce. That goes back to this paternalism and the way that a lot of men look at pregnancy. Women have got to stand up and fight this. There are individual conditions in each pregnancy. Obviously you're not going to take risks that you don't need to take, but we take those risks all the time in normal every day life. You don't have to be within a minute of an OB/GYN and the hospital when you're pregnant.

Plus, the situation with miscarriage is very important for people to understand. For example in early pregnancy, with spontaneous abortion, there's nothing you can do about it. So if I had a woman at sea at seven weeks of a pregnancy and things started to happen, there's not going to be any significant difference when she's on a ship in the middle of the Mediterranean Ocean than if she were right here. It's when you get into the second trimester that that starts to alter.

One of the things that really infuriated me was non-OB physicians trying to say that the danger of ectopic pregnancy was such that it was bad to put women on ships. This was because we would have to have an OB/GYN on the ship because of ectopic pregnancies. I think if you go and you look at statistics, an 18 year old male is far more likely to have an appendicitis than an 18 year old female is likely to have an ectopic pregnancy. That's assuming that she's sexually active. Yet, that's the kind of rationale that is being used by some very senior military medical officers to keep women off of ships.

At one point in the recent time, they were looking at conducting mandatory pregnancy testing on every woman. In fact in the Navy regulations right now in the personnel manual, there's this little clause that somehow or another got in there. Any woman, officer or enlisted, regardless of risk group, going to sea duty has to be tested for pregnancy. We had the real world case of a 42-year old woman officer who was unmarried going to command a ship being told she had to get a test for pregnancy. As if she were either untrustworthy or too stupid to figure out that she might be pregnant. Then there were certain admirals that were proposing that we have monthly pregnancy testing at sea. Those are still the issues that we're dealing with right now.

PARTICIPANT: To what extent do you think this would indicate a real or feigned concern about the baby as opposed to some misguided ideas about how women's abilities change when they're pregnant?

CAPT MARINER: I think it's both. I think for the most part it's seen as a pretense. However, I've always been amazed at how paternalistic some male physicians can be, particularly flight surgeons who probably know the least about women. I don't know about in the Army, but in the Navy, flight surgeons have not done a residency. They're very inexperienced physicians and it's a good way for them to get some kind of operational experience before you send them back to get a residency. Yet, those are some of the people who are the most paternalistic because they're the most ignorant.

I've had a flight surgeon tell me that women should be grounded totally during pregnancy. Here's a man who has two children of his own talking about women going nuts during pregnancy; basically, you are psychologically unbalanced and on and on. There are risky pregnancies, but deal with them on an individual basis. I think most of it goes back to a convenient myth or perception out there that you can play on people's emotions and it works. Of course, women are going to say, "well, I would never take a chance with my baby, so I think they must be right." Yet, they will turn around and go to Disneyland and ride on the rides or something or go down to the local dump or whatever.

PARTICIPANT: You're more likely to see most problems in pregnancies with traffic accidents.

CAPT MARINER: The other area where people manifest problems is with alcohol. A woman for example starts developing a drinking problem. I would ask them pointed questions about the source of this. If I had to see a pattern from a commander's perspective I would notice that I'm getting a lot of junior enlisted coming over to me for whatever reasons or they're being referred to me. I would start looking, asking them pointed questions about what's going on in that command. In general, that seems to be symptomatic of bad leadership. When there are problems in a command with women, you tend to see a lot of fraternization going on, meaning that leadership is not enforcing the mores. In fact, I would be suspicious that the commanding officer is sleeping with one of the enlisted women, because that's usually how bad that can get.

They've got a command master chief or sergeant major, who is one of the "jerks." They are doing something paternalistic. They're keeping women out of the more dangerous jobs and the more demanding jobs. You spent six months in school learning how to fix a jet engine. You come into the unit and they have you pushing papers over here, which of course is going to keep you from getting promoted, because you don't have any experience.

One of the things I've seen over the years is that one of the worst, or potentially one of the best players in this, could be the command chaplain. I've seen men that were so judgmental I couldn't even get anybody in my unit married by this man because of his religious views. I also had one ex-Marine Baptist preacher type that was the best counselor we ever had. That was one of the normal mechanisms for dealing with problems and there could be a problem with the mechanism itself.

I would do something else at this point, instead of having all these sexual harassment classes and all these things that just drive people nuts and waste our day. Let's sit down and talk about what we're really dealing with and that is prejudice. What is the nature of prejudice and how is it manifested? The fact that if nothing else, you can always go back to the golden rule. You treat others as you would treat yourself. That doesn't mean that generals treat captains the same way, but if you were a captain how would you like to be treated by the general and vice versa; probably with respect and professionalism. If you just acted professionally all the time, we wouldn't have most of these problems. Then go back to judging people as individuals.

Now that may be hard if you never in your life had to deal with all this extra baggage. I think there's a lot of white men in this world that came from upper middle class backgrounds, that certainly had their share of woes in life, but have never had to deal with prejudice. That is what you saw in Tailhook. For the first time in many of these young men's lives and older men's lives, people were stereotyping them unjustly. What was their reaction? Moral indignation and outrage. How did they deal with this? They went into what I call denial and they started trying to label one female lieutenant as immoral to bring down the entire United States Navy. They want to believe that. They really want to believe that.

For a lot of these men it was a real eye opener. My husband went to choir practice one night with his uniform on, when all this was really at the height in the papers. Of course, they didn't know him. They didn't know that he was Mr. Women's Libber himself and had played a very prominent role in all this. They just saw him as a Naval aviator Tailhook type. He heard all the things people were saying about, "how could you, is it really true that you all did that?" That's prejudice. He had never experienced it before. It's a real eye opener. People that are egotistical and pretty sure of themselves and proud of what they do, on encountering situations like that, are going to react very negatively. They will go on the offensive and that's what they did.

It does disturb me. Tailhook is a very complicated, long story. I can go on and on. A lot of things were done very wrong. The perception of injustice is in fact a correct one. The fact is that it's still turned against women. There is this recent accident involving a fighter pilot, Kara Hultgreen, whom I knew very well. To me, that is the equivalent of being dragged through the streets of Mogadishu. Only what you have now on the sidelines is this faceless anonymous mob and all these men who won't use their names, really gutsy people. Or in fact they are not Naval aviators at all. You don't know who these people are. You have the Navy Times cheering them on and selling newspapers at the same time.

People look to the authorities, and what's the leadership doing? We see that a mishap investigative report was released not just in the Navy Times. There are two investigations that are done in any accident. One is a Judge Advocate General (JAG) investigation. It's highly unusual for the Navy to release a JAG investigation to the press until after the Commanding Officer endorses it. The Air Force is really more prone to do that than we are. It was highly unusual that the Navy gave the press the JAG, which is the legal investigation. When people participate in legal investigations they know that punitive measures can be taken based on what they say. If you can potentially say anything that might be chargeable, they're going to read you your rights. They sit down and treat you just like they're doing a legal investigation, which is what it is.

The Navy leadership was very concerned about this accident. One of the reasons they released the JAG report was to try to head off some of the frenzy that was going on on the public relations side of it. What I call, "Inside the Beltway."

On the other hand there is the safety report, which is a privileged report. The whole reason we have that system is because no punitive actions can be taken against you based on a statement that you give a safety investigator. This is because if you do take punitive action, people won't tell the truth; that's reality. We know that from years of experience in this business. This has been upheld in court. It's gone to the Supreme Court at least once. The military is always very concerned about protecting this system because every time there's a lawsuit. Of course, it's very hard to sue the government. If my husband gets killed in an airplane that malfunctioned, I'm not going to go sue the Navy unless the government allows me to sue them. However, I will go after the engine manufacturer and everybody else that I can. The point is that all the industry people want these privileged safety reports because they want to take that report and say, "see the pilot screwed up, not the engine."

What happened on this accident with Hultgreen is that last week, somebody or some group of people released the privileged report. Of course, this

report goes out all over the place because the idea is you read them so you don't make the same mistakes. It went out to at least three different newspapers. The Navy Times editor made the decision to put that on the Internet. The entire report went out on this Military On-line, which is a commercial enterprise that is owned by the Times Publishing Corporation. They were hyping that as well.

My understanding is that there will be some kind of an investigation on the Navy's side to see who released this. The concern is that they will never be able to find out who it was. I'm not so sure about that, but at least we're going to do an investigation.

That shows you the extreme hatred which you're dealing with. Hultgreen was an unusual person. She reminds me very much of the skier, Picabo Street. She had that kind of personality. To be one of the first female F-14 pilots, that's exactly what you need to make it in that world. In fact, she was doing very well in the squadron. She had been pretty disgusted too, but that wasn't caused by the people in her squadron.

The people doing this are the F-14 or ex-F-14 navigators and pilots who no longer have cockpits to fly because of downsizing. This downsizing business is causing a whole new kind of class warfare. These are guys whose careers are over, and then they see some girl doing their old job. Of course, the publicity was there, so that makes them hate her. They want desperately to believe that she got some kind of special treatment. When the accident occurred, they were putting it out that she had basically gone out there and "hamburgered it up"; gone in, overshot, stalled the airplane, and screwed it up. They said it was because they let her out of the training squadron when she was unqualified. All the women are like that.

Well, in fact, she had trouble the first time she practiced a carrier landing, which was not at all unusual. In her situation, she was a second to her aviator who had not been flying off of carriers. This was a very familiar pattern. She did very well the second time she went back. Her training record was quite clean. In fact, probably the group that defended her the best was the whole training outfit. However, there are the rumors and the stories just proliferate and you get them all wrong and all that stuff. The story at Miramar was that she had done all these awful things. Then these people anonymously called the radio station. I've got a copy of a fax. This one man wrote an eight page fax like he was saving the world from some horrible conspiracy outlining what her grade sheets were and this and that. It was all wrong. Either he made it up or for all I know the man thinks he's Tom Cruise and is a paranoid schizophrenic. I don't know. Yet, the press accepts at face value that kind of angle. That's what's happening. By feeding into the press, it's magnified into 25,000 people; the whole world reads it.

Now, what happens to you if you're a young woman flying off of a carrier? You know not only are there people out there that would love you to fail, but there are also people out there that would love you to succeed. You can deal with that. You know that you're being watched constantly. Then there is this whole idea that somehow your femininity is in danger when you're in the military. How could you be any less a woman, there's no way. Most of these women are very feminine. They don't want to be men, they just want to be themselves. Anyway, they're always being watched. Now they know that if they get killed, that somebody is going to drag out their medical record. They're going to be dragged through the streets of Mogadishu by their own side and yet they still do it

That's part of the story when you counsel the young women. I think most of the young women you see are not going to be pathological, they're just going to be upset. You instill pride in them for what they're doing and you put it in context for them; that this is not just them. This struggle has been going on for a long time. They should be proud of what they do, what they contribute and what they are as soldiers. They are good people, not bad people. It does make a difference what they do, not just what they do as soldiers but what they are doing as women. The payoff is not going to be for them. The payoff is going to be for their daughters and their sons. I think when most young people in this environment sit back and look at it that way, they can go home and start over.

PARTICIPANT: Unfortunately, we're out of time - thank you.

CAPT MARINER: Thank you for inviting me and I hope this all does some good.

Senior Leaders: Special Stressors and Coping Strategies

Brig. Gen. Marrcelite J. Harris, USAF

Today it is our privilege to welcome Brigadier General Harris. General Harris is currently the Air Force Director of Maintenance. She is a Deputy Chief of Staff for Logistics at Headquarters, U.S. Air Force, Washington, D.C. In her present role she organizes, trains, and equips a work force of more than 125,000 technicians and managers. Additionally, she maintains the \$260 billion-plus global aerospace weapons systems inventory.

General Harris' Air Force background began in 1965. She was commissioned at the Officer Training School at Lackland Air Force Base in San Antonio. She has held a variety of assignments, many of which have involved her being the first at something. She was the first black woman one-star brigadier general in the Air Force, and now she is the first black woman two-star general in the Department of Defense, pending Congressional approval. Her awards include the Legion of Merit with one oak leaf cluster, as well as the bronze star that she received for her service in Vietnam.

Brig Gen HARRIS: Thank you for inviting me to speak. I have some idea of the research work that you are doing on stress and trauma. What I would like to do is begin by telling a bit more about my life and then invite questions and discussion.

MAJ SUTTON: First, General Harris, I would like to go around the table so that you have a chance to hear from everyone in terms of who they are and where they are from. You know who I am and you met Mrs. Levinson just before we started.

DR. GABBAY: I am Francie Gabbay, a research psychologist here at USUHS in both the Department of Medical and Clinical Psychology and also in the Department of Psychiatry.

MR. LEONARD: I am Jim Leonard, a research assistant in the Department of Psychiatry.

MS. HILLIARD: Mary Beth Hilliard. I am also a research assistant with the program.

LTC RADKE: I am Dr. Alan Radke. I am an IMA (Individual Mobilization Augmentee). I am assigned here in Dr. Ursano's office. I am currently the Medical Director of Women's Regional Treatment Center, and Deputy State Medical Director for the Department of Health and Human Services for the state of Minnesota. I am also an epidemiologist as well as a psychiatrist.

MS. WALTERS: I am Alyssa Walters and I am a research assistant working in the trauma and stress program.

DR. ROSENBERG: I am Florence Rosenberg, a sociologist with Walter Reed Army Institute of Research.

COL GIFFORD: I am Bob Gifford, a research psychologist at the Army Medical Research and Material Command and I am the Director of Operational Medicine Research. The Women's Research Program was under this program last year.

Brig Gen HARRIS: Does that come under the Army Materiel Command?

COL GIFFORD: No, it is medical research and material. We are not under the Army Materiel Command.

LTC KNUDSON: I am Kathy Knudson. I work with the Walter Reed Army Institute of Research, Department of Military Psychiatry. I am a research psychologist and for the past year I have been helping Colonel Gifford.

DR. SLUSARCICK: I am Anita Slusarcick, a psychologist here in the Department of Psychiatry.

Brig Gen HARRIS: I will tell you a little bit about myself. Dr. Sutton has already said that I came into the service in 1965. That was a year after I finished college. I got a degree in speech and drama and ended up doing most of my career as a maintenance engineer. Figure that. Some of the things that happened during my career and some of the things that have made me decide to stay and have a career are those that have centered around logistics and materiel.

In 1968, I was asked whether I wanted to be a maintenance officer. That meant being an aircraft maintenance officer. I became an administrative officer and when I got into it I found out that I didn't even speak the language. I didn't know what all these people were talking about.

I asked to go to the Maintenance Officer's School which is a seven-month school. I applied and was turned down. I applied again through the urgings of the colonel, my supervisor, who had put me into that field. I applied again and I was again turned down. The colonel insisted that we apply again, so I did. This time I wrote a letter to then Colonel Jeanne Holm. She later became General Jeanne Holm, the first woman in the Air Force to be a general officer. I wrote to her and sent a copy of the application. I heard from her in about six weeks with a class date.

Right out of school, I was sent immediately into Southeast Asia to Korat, Thailand. I was to go to Saigon after Maintenance Officer's School, but it

was feared by my superiors that I would not be utilized as a maintenance officer and that I really wouldn't get any experience or I wouldn't learn anything. My superiors insisted I go with our Military Personnel Center's decision and I was assigned to Korat, Thailand, where there were F-4 aircraft.

I was first placed in an administrative job as an executive assistant. After two months, I was placed on the flight line and that turned out to be perhaps the most wonderful experience of my life; not so much that it was a war experience, but the opportunity to work with people and to see what the heart and soul of the military was all about. I found out that it really was the people. It was at that point that I decided that the military really could be a career for me.

I came back to the United States and went to Travis Air Force Base; by the way I started my career at Travis. At Travis I had a flight line job. Somewhere during that period of time a colonel that I had worked with in the war zone brought me to the Pentagon to work temporary duty on an ad hoc group that our then-Chief-of-Staff David Jones had put together to look at people issues.

From there, a two-star general who later received his third promotion brought me permanently on to the staff as a personnel officer. I worked there for three years with General Tomlin. In the meantime, he had gone to the Air Force Academy. By the time he got there women were in their second year at the Air Force Academy. This was 1977. General Tomlin recognized that he was not only having problems with the integration of women in the Air Force Academy, but he was also having difficulty integrating minorities, particularly blacks, because of our rating system. He knew me and knew my work, and he knew also that I had been promoted to major. He told me he wanted to bring someone he knew could be successful as an officer commanding. For those of you in the Army, that is a TAC officer at West Point.

I then became one of the first two women to become Air Force officers commanding at the Air Force Academy. I was working for John Tomlin, with the first class of women, and then with subsequent classes. I met my husband at the Air Force Academy. We left the academy together and I went back into aircraft maintenance, becoming a squadron commander - the first woman to do so - in Strategic Air Command. At that time the Strategic Air Command was the leading command in the Air Force. It had our bombers and tankers and was located at LeMay Air Force Base. General LeMay built Strategic Air Command. It was unusual for a woman to hold such a job. What was even more unusual for me at that time was that I was given that job when I was four months pregnant.

I found out later that it was a difficult thing for my commander to get me that position. These commander jobs were things that were agreed upon; you had to be approved at the MAJCOM (Major Command) on the four-star level. There was a lot of dissension, especially for a woman and more so for a woman who was pregnant. I worked at that base for a year.

I left there and went to Japan again. For every job thereafter, I became the first woman. Probably by now I am the oldest woman in the Air Force.

I was, however, not the first woman logistics officer to make general. I was selected in February for my second star. The Air Force has not had a woman two-star general since 1976. I have been a one-star general now for about three-and-a-half years. I am number one on my list, whenever the list comes out. There are eight of us who can pin on immediately, as soon as Congress makes a confirmational list.

I understand that General Holm recommended me to speak to your group today. That brings me up to where I am right now with you, and to do whatever I can do to help you by giving you my personal view. I am not Every Woman, so what I say doesn't mean that I speak for all women.

DR. GABBAY: Could we start by having you perhaps talk about obstacles and prejudices that happen to women?

Brig Gen HARRIS: One of the difficulties I have encountered has to do with issues of temperament and balance on the job; balancing having people like me and getting the job done. If I have to sacrifice one of them, I will sacrifice the people liking me, because I find I gain more by making sure the job gets done well. What I have found out since becoming a general is that everybody is a type of personality. It is not like a unit where you at least somehow have a distribution of people who are going to come easy. When you get into the general officer corps, every one of them is right.

Since being married I don't have really good personal relationships with people and women like I did once upon a time. My whole reason for being so late in making general was I think not so much even being a woman but being black.

I get used a lot. I get used on the DACOWITS; that is the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services. I get to sit on every kind of board; promotion boards. I fit every demographic. The only reason I don't get on some is the law says you can't sit on the same board consecutively. So, I get to skip a year. I get to do all those kinds of things. And then people are always wanting me to speak. My boss marked me down on my efficiency report because he said I was used on these things a lot and gone from the office. He couldn't get me out of it. He said I should stay a one-star one more year, and then he talked it over with the four star and decided this was best. I think it is a question of ability and that is the only thing that should count regarding promotion.

LTC RADKE: Do you think there is more pressure between senior women general officers not to support each other, or is it that way regardless of sex?

Brig Gen HARRIS: I don't know if it is more pressure.

LTC RADKE: I am wondering if you would be seen as banding together in a way that is threatening.

Brig Gen HARRIS: We would definitely be seen as banding together. I don't know if men seriously feel threatened by it. I am sure that right now we are just not as significant. These are really people with big egos. It is going to take a lot for any one of them to feel threatened by a woman. I feel threatened by other general officers, but it has to do with their personality. I know for one they don't feel threatened. There are a lot of women out there, it amazes me, that really think that men feel threatened by their intelligence, or feel threatened by some other thing. We would be seen as banding together? I don't know if anybody feels threatened by that.

What I don't know is how real any of us are with each other. I am not sure how sincere friendship is. The general officer leadership, the four-star leadership that I see right now in the Air Force looks so healthy to me. I think it is so needed, because these gentlemen do not foster an atmosphere where you have to knife another general in the back or you have to talk about someone else. As a matter of fact, they foster a teamwork kind of environment. They would rather fix the problem than fix the blame. I feel comfortable making a mistake.

LTC RADKE: Do you think they look for a bad system and processes before they look for a bad apple?

Brig Gen HARRIS: Yes, and I don't think it is because it is something they have just started to learn. I think it is because they are real people themselves, that they, too, have a number of short-comings. They are able to recognize this and say, "that is just the way I am and it is okay." I think they really do look at the system. I don't think they ever look for a culprit or a bad actor. I think those kinds of people identify themselves eventually so that they always surface. I don't think that they go into a problem looking for who did it; how did they let this happen?

I remember with one boss I did something which I feel was stupid because I hadn't paid attention. I knew the problem was there and I hadn't written it down. I just hadn't really followed up on it or kept an eye on it to see where it was going. It was okay. I said, "sir, my fault. I knew about it and I just haven't looked at it." The action was "chewed out" not me, if you understand the difference. What was comfortable for me was that I could feel the difference. For any of you who are military, you always have to deal with problems where two staffs are having problems because of ego conflicts of command.

DR. SUTTON: Could you talk about the process of mentoring at an early stage in a servicewoman's career, as well as mentoring as a woman moves

through the ranks? For example, what should a lieutenant or captain look for in a mentor and following that process to a general officer?

Brig Gen HARRIS: I probably just need to talk for a little bit until I get my thoughts on it, because I never really looked for a mentor. I never really looked for a role model and still don't quite understand that phenomenon.

If you are a junior person and you are looking for a mentor, you probably are already in trouble, in that most people who have mentors have attracted the mentor. If you don't have a mentor and you are looking for someone to provide you with advice, I think I would start with my boss, right off the bat.

You can tell whether you have a good kind of honest feeling relationship from the way your boss will lay it out; how you will sit and talk. Try practicing your honesty. Say, "I want to know this military information. I am not even sure what I am supposed to be looking for. I know I joined for a career." Most bosses will say, "that is a good reason to join but now you need to forget that." Most bosses who really want to let you try and advance will say, "now you need to be in this for us, for the Army. What is the Army's career? How can you make the Army's career good?" You find out that when you do that, you also make your career pretty good. I tell anybody out there that the process starts with the individual being good for the company's sake, not from their own individual sake. That comes from my own career. There are a few people who sneak through, but careerism shows up. That insincerity shows up. I have people walk in and tell me, I have decided that I would really like you to be my mentor. They just walk in and say, "I want you to mentor me."

The process starts most definitely with the individual, but it also starts with the individual's attitude. Once you do establish a relationship with a senior person, I call it kind of latching your wagon to the falling star, you need to make sure of your star. As long as the person is winging in the right direction, and is not somebody who is about to fall off the cliff they think they have got the thing wired. There are no gimmicks. Some people can work gimmicks, so you are going to see a few people that got through with a gimmick. If you are like the average person, you cannot work a gimmick. The only way you can do it is the honest way, and the honest way is through work and effort. I tell people the best thing is to like it. If work is what it is going to take to get you there, you have got to like it. I figure I am an average person. If I have approached my work where I enjoy it, then I think it is where a lot of other people can enjoy it.

You find out that your bosses like that, and they start telling the rest of the world when they write those little things they write on you. You know what happens in the military; your life gets boiled down to a sheet of paper. After a

whole year of fantastic effort and breaking your back, it is boiled down to nine lines on a sheet of paper. You want your boss to be able to write some exciting things in those nine lines that communicates how exciting you are to a board of folks who have to sit there and decide your career.

You have to be excited about it. You have to like it. You have to be able to get up in the morning. If you don't want to do it, you have to move on, you have to change. You have to say, "this is not the career field for me, or maybe I am supposed to be doing this kind of a job, or this is the company but I can't make this job turn on."

DR. GABBAY: You were saying that you questioned the sincerity of friendships at the level that you are working at. I can imagine that might be a source of stress, or can you comment on how you cope with that?

Brig Gen HARRIS: I just get away from it. I am not around it a lot. I just stand it for as long as I have to. The only person I feel really relaxed around is my husband. Maybe that is the way I get around it, that I have him in my life.

LTC KNUDSON: He is in the military with you.

Brig Gen HARRIS: He was. He has been retired now four years. He went to law school. He was a pilot and had a different picture of the military.

LTC RADKE: From your earlier comments, about your going up the career ladder, it appears that what you are saying is that trust in your peers decreased and self reliance increased.

Brig Gen HARRIS: Yes.

LTC RADKE: Doesn't that result in isolation?

Brig Gen HARRIS: Yes. For a woman who is not married, I really feel for them. I really think my salvation is my marriage, and probably my daughter, too. She is a pretty astute young lady for 13. She is very intelligent, very smart, inquisitive and observant. I discuss a lot of things with my daughter.

It is very lonely. I just honestly feel for some women. The next thing is, even if we trusted each other, there are so few women in high places that we couldn't find each other. In the Air Force, there are six women generals on active duty. I would think with the other services, all together, we have about 15 or 16 women general and flag officers out of some 900 general officers. Then

when you get to the senior executive services that are on the civilian side, who are flag officers equivalent, there are even fewer of those women. You don't want to share a lot of your concerns about that level of leadership and management and how things are going with people of lesser rank. You just kind of recognize this is what life is, and these are things that I have to go out and try to handle.

The higher up in rank you get, the lonelier it becomes. You make bigger decisions with less amount of time, so you try to make the most of the information that you can. You try to shape the information. I feel a lot of pressure to make a right decision. I have known all my life, a right decision was always determined by the outcome. I am sitting there all the time trying to make sure it is the right decision before I make it, so that somebody will anoint it, bless it and say, "oh, that was a good decision."

LTC RADKE: I would think that being alone and under stress would be quite anxiety provoking such that at times it could be overwhelming.

Brig Gen HARRIS: I have headaches. I take Motrin. I have high blood pressure and I had a stroke in my right eye. We think it is from headaches. I smoked up until two years ago. I loved smoking, too. I just hated to give it up. I was getting a lot of pressure from my family, plus the fact that I knew I should quit smoking. We thought maybe it was that platelets had broken up and caused the stroke. I am from a family background of high blood pressure and in a work situation that can sometimes keep me stressed out. I have tried finding ways to relax. I am so glad now that everybody's got a PC on their desk and can use it to reduce stress as well as to work. I don't really have anybody to talk with. I am, however, able to talk with my associate who is an SES (Senior Executive Service). I guess somewhere along the line you can find somebody who can understand the stresses. At the same time this person does not become any more than your associate. We get along great. I really like working with him. I am in charge and when we are in staff meetings he sometimes takes over and that is fine.

DR. SUTTON: I was wondering if you could speak some about how men are afraid to speak to women for fear of saying the wrong thing. What is the best way, do you think, of approaching that or bridging that gap?

Brig Gen HARRIS: I don't know the best way. I can tell you the way that I look at it. I try to look for a person's sincerity, not for how they indicate that they don't want to be offensive. I look for their sincerity in believing in individual capabilities and individual talents. I look for signs and things that tell me how color blind or gender blind people are whether they are men or women. A

lot of it is in the voice and face. It is not the offensive words that they are saying, it is more the factual kinds of things.

Bridging the gap means all of us being less sensitive. Women, to me, have to be less sensitive. It doesn't mean that you have to take insults or you have to be around offensiveness. I don't think a man would want to be around offensive language all the time. I don't think it has anything to do with a female presence. On the side of those who are in some pretty key positions, it means stop looking for promoting gender. Look for promoting talent. If you happen to be able to find a talent in a woman, you might want to give some special consideration, because we still need to have visible women and some minorities up there for the world to be able to see.

It has to be important also to the senior leader; not because you want to look good, or that you want your service to look good, but that it is important that, in a multicultural society, the voices of those cultures are heard. They all bring something to the table that makes the collective decision a lot better and a lot stronger. You have to believe it. You can't just state this. Bridging the gap starts with sincerity at the top level, and you just can't pass that off to the next level.

LTC KNUDSON: Do you think there is any hope for women making careers in service?

Brig Gen HARRIS: Yes. I think there is a lot of hope around the Air Force because we have now opened all except for about four career fields. 96.6% of our positions are open for women; flying is where you really want to look. We are a lot, lot closer to seeing women leading warriors. That is going to be the big step. I think you will see some women in three stars, but the big step is going to be women out there leading warriors.

LTC KNUDSON: It has been a long time since the first woman general. That is when there were 7,000 women in the Women's Army Corps. I don't know how many were in the Air Force.

Brig Gen HARRIS: Oh, not many, maybe 5,000 around that period in time. It moves very slowly. Women, in general, are pretty disheartened by the numbers of women generals that we have had. People can't understand why women push so much for opening career fields. Well, basically the promotion and the leadership jobs are those that really will demand your skills, your brains and your ability to coordinate all those kinds of things.

Let's face it, the business side of running our military, we left to the civilians. Those people we put uniforms on we expect to be warriors. It is in the warrior career field that we look for the leadership. We got away from that a little bit in the Air Force but we are going back to that now, to put good warriors in charge of Space Command. We had techies out there in charge of Space Command before, but it seemed to have lost its place and relevance. You know, why do we

have Space Command if it is not to be a support to the warrior? It became an end unto itself. Now we have our warriors back, I think. We look for a warrior to build on.

I honestly think that we are coming closer and closer and moving that way faster and faster to where we will be able to conduct warfare without putting warriors in harm's way; because of computers and because of electronics. We are able to have war without damaging people and structures, because of electronics and because of computers.

LTC KNUDSON: You have the communications structure.

Brig Gen HARRIS: Sure, yes. You could sit right here in this hospital and it would be amazing if somebody got into the computer system. Think what would happen if they changed all the patient data through accessing the system from a network.

We don't have time to worry about somebody marching down the street saying, "I now own the hospital kind of thing." We are advancing ourselves to another level of war fighting. What America has to do is make sure that it stays out there by itself. We have to match enemy for enemy, or capability for capability. That is when all the cunning and skill has to come in.

I like us being a world leader. No matter what you might think of our present leadership or administration or anything like that. I think that we as a collective body have some pretty level ideas of how the world should run. I happen to believe in democracy and I like us being out there and being world leaders. We need to maintain a force because someday there is going to be a credible world government. We can have a good seat that has a lot of credibility at the conference table.

Yes, we are so close to seeing a woman in those kind of key leadership, three star and four star commands. Within the next 15 years, I bet we see a woman president.

MAJ SUTTON: Thank you so much for joining us.

**Nursing in the Vietnam Conflict:
Reflections on War and Post-war Stressors**

Capt. E. Jane McCarthy, NC, USPHS

Captain McCarthy is a member of the USUHS (Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences) faculty. She is the acting Chairperson of the Department of Nurse Anesthesia at our graduate School of Nursing and will talk about roles for military women. She will discuss her experience in Vietnam.

CAPT McCARTHY: I was in Nursing School from 1966 to 1969. I went to Massachusetts General Hospital School of Nursing at the time the Vietnam War was ongoing. The major action in 1968 was the Tet Offensive and a lot of my friends from high school were dying. I decided then to join the Army. I was in the Army student nurse program my last year and I had a two-year obligation with the Army after that. I was commissioned at the end of 1969 after I graduated and then I went to Walter Reed for ten months and worked in critical care in the recovery room.

Then I was sent to Vietnam with just one year left of my obligation. I ended up with the 95th Evacuation Hospital which was in Da Nang. That was about a 300 bed hospital. It was a fairly sophisticated hospital with everything except open heart surgery. I worked in triage (which we called pre-op) and receiving in Vietnam and that was like the emergency room. That is where I spent my year, to give you a little background.

MAJ SUTTON: It might be helpful at this time for us to briefly introduce ourselves. I am Loree Sutton, a member of the Department of Psychiatry here at USUHS.

DR. MARLOWE: I am David Marlowe. I am Chief of the Department of Military Psychiatry at the Walter Reed Army Institute of Research.

MS. WALTERS: I am Alyssa Walters. I am a research assistant in the Department of Psychiatry.

MS. LENNON: I am Jean Lennon.

DR. ROSEN: I am Leora Rosen. I am a psychologist at the Walter Reed Army Institute of Research.

LTC KNUDSON: I am Kathy Knudson and I am with the Department of Military Psychiatry at the Walter Reed Army Institute of Research also.

COL McCARROLL: I am Ed McCarroll, a psychologist at Walter Reed Army Institute of Research.

MAJ SUTTON: What we have done thus far in our project is to meet with a number of people from a variety of disciplines. We have used these informal consultations to educate ourselves in both the history of women in the military and experiences such as your own. We are looking for ways that can shed light on the current study that we are doing for the Defense Women's Health Research Program.

LTC KNUDSON: I have been helping with the medical research material.

CAPT McCARTHY: It is good that women's military health issues are finally hitting the active duty people. When I came back from Vietnam it seemed that a lot of people were doing studies. I would get a lot of surveys for about ten years or so, but from more civilian people than the military. It is nice to see the military finally catching on twenty or twenty-five years later.

PARTICIPANT: We were doing studies at the time. I do not want you to leave Vietnam right now. I wonder if you could go through a little of your history in country. Your initial impressions would be interesting. Above all, talk a little about the experience of doing triage and your response to it and your colleagues' response to it.

CAPT McCARTHY: Let's see. I was young. I was twenty-two. I had ten months of this experience at Walter Reed Army Medical Center. Actually, when I look at the two places, sometimes I think that in some ways Walter Reed was worse. The hours were worse at Reed. We had a greater shortage of personnel at Reed. Of course the patients stayed. The triple amputees didn't go away.

When I got orders to Vietnam I did not want to go because I did not think that I could hold up under the stress and strain of it. I just assumed that it had to be worse than Walter Reed. I thought, "I do not think the Army can get anything more out of me." I was working three or four different shifts a week, but then they said I had to go, so I went.

I felt that I was very needed at Walter Reed. I got to Vietnam. It was a very tiring trip, obviously, and when I got to Saigon the Chief Nurse of Vietnam said, "what are you doing here? We don't really need you but we will send you up to Da Nang." So I got up to Da Nang. It took about three days to get from Saigon to Da Nang on a plane.

DR. MARLOWE: This was at the end of 1970?

CAPT McCARTHY: This was the end of 1970. I went over in November of 1970 and I came back in August of 1971. They were just starting to stand down. I went up to the 95th. I reported to the chief nurse there and she said, "I did not know you were coming." I remember this and I felt that I was so needed at Reed. I asked myself, "why did they make me go all the way over here?"

The chief nurse said, "go find a hootch and rest. Come and see me in three days." She probably knew what she was doing. I came back and they put me in the Intensive Care Unit for awhile. Then they moved me down to the triage area where there were three other nurses and physicians and a couple of corpsmen.

It was a tough place to work. It was probably the hardest place to work. I guess I built up my calluses over about three months. The way you broke into working triage was you started from the head down. You talked to the patient while somebody else was doing the other work. As you got used to that then you got down to the arms where you could start the IV. As you got used to that you got down to the legs. You could do the amputations, take the dressings off and put them back on. There was a certain process to build up the ability to take that kind of work, to watch that kind of thing. I do remember that at the beginning.

PARTICIPANT: Had the experience at Reed been helpful in terms of hardening you?

CAPT McCARTHY: Yes. I did not get a lot of technical experience. When people heard I was going to Vietnam, I remember an anesthesiologist taking me into the operating room and helping me to start IV's. I do not know if that helped but I think the ten months that I had there dealing with life and death and loss of limbs definitely helped me.

The other thing it did for me was to give me hope. In other words, when I saw an eighteen-year-old GI come in with a foot blown off, I was able to give him hope. This was because I had been to Reed and to the rehab there. I had made very close friends with some of those men that had lost a leg. I watched them get better and get back into normal society again. That was one thing that I thought I could truthfully offer, hope. I think that helped me, too, having just that little bit of experience at Walter Reed. It wasn't a lot but that was all I had to bring with me as far as my military experience.

PARTICIPANT: Did the other nurses have the same sense of there being hope for these kids; the ones that hadn't had your experience with folks in rehab?

CAPT McCARTHY: There were some nurses that went over there straight from civilian life. I think that they had a difficult time. I really do.

PARTICIPANT: In what way?

CAPT McCARTHY: Well, I think they were just shoved into this experience. I think that many of the ones that I knew had this fantasy of, "I want to go to save lives in the war." The Army allowed that to happen. The Army went ahead and put them through basic training and sent them off. That is all they knew about the military. I think it was more shocking for them. All they had to pull on was their civilian experience. Some of them had worked in an emergency room so that was helpful; that is what they pulled on. I knew this one particular nurse who came from civilian life who became very stressed. I think they had to med evac her out.

PARTICIPANT: What kind of support did you get when you first came in, from the docs, from the medics? Was any attempt made to socialize you to what was going on at the 95th Evac?

CAPT McCARTHY: I guess. There were two physicians. One physician I knew was an orthopedist from Walter Reed and he remembered me. I remember that he introduced me to everybody. We had the Officer's Club and we had a group up at a place called Lance's Bar. I think I got into the group pretty quickly. Then within weeks I ended up in the emergency room and two of those nurses there ended up as my best friends.

There was a group of physicians, maybe about ten of us all together, that became friends pretty quickly. There might have even been more than that. We had a very strong group that hung out together and partied together. We did not do a lot of talking at work, I was amazed at that. I had come from Massachussets General Hospital where we always had a patient conference at least once a week. I remember in Vietnam we never had one, not one.

PARTICIPANT: What was more stressful for you, the chronic kind of thing you were dealing with at Walter Reed where you had patients in the long term and could also see what was happening to them, or the rapid turnover that you get in an Evac hospital?

CAPT McCARTHY: Which was more difficult?

PARTICIPANT: More difficult, or were they the same or was there a difference between the two?

CAPT McCARTHY: I guess it was different. I know there were good times at Reed (I have very vivid memories from Reed) and yet there were things that were easy about Vietnam because you never got to know a patient. They were only at the hospital for three days. I never remembered any names whereas I do remember names from Walter Reed. I have wondered if that is a defense mechanism because one of my friends also remembered no names. When we went to visit the Wall together we knew no names and we thought that maybe that was done almost on purpose.

I am wondering from my experience at Reed if I was being protected when I went to Vietnam. I may be too analytical here but having been through a lot of trying to figure it out makes me think I might have gone over there being protected.

I remember sitting with a friend at a picnic table at night and talking; we never talked about patients. We had just "bagged" seven GI's that day. I remember sitting there and thinking that we never talked about it. We were best friends but we just did not talk about it.

We were always on call. You could not fall apart. I guess we figured you could not talk about it because you might fall apart. I do not think we dealt with it until we came home and then everything came out.

PARTICIPANT: You just kept pushing straight ahead.

CAPT McCARTHY: We just kept pushing. That is what we did. I remember the chief nurse coming down to where we were working at the triage. I was sitting at the desk and I think I must have had my head down. I was tired. We worked twelve hours on, twelve hours off, six days a week and I was tired. She kind of hit me on the back and said, "well, I guess you cannot take this. We are going to have to ship you up to the wards." I just sat right up straight and I never looked tired again. You know, that was the sort of support system you had. "Guess this one can't take it, we will ship her out." So it just toughened you up more.

PARTICIPANT: You know people today talk a lot about sexual harassment and things like that. Was that part of the ambience of the 95th?

CAPT McCARTHY: I didn't think so. Again, I may have figured out how to protect myself before I went over there but I did not feel any particular sexual harassment.

PARTICIPANT: People weren't hitting on you other than normal?

CAPT McCARTHY: Right. The enlisted men would come in and they would see a "round eye" with long blonde hair. I felt they were very appreciative of seeing me. I figured out early on that I was the mothering image for them. All they wanted to do was talk and hold my hand maybe or just look. They were just so comforted by that, the patients. I think they almost revered me. I felt almost better protected in a way.

I remember though that there were times that I felt just like one of the men. I remember having my duffle bag. You have to pack for a whole year; you can imagine. I always had somebody carry my duffle bag all the way from here to when I landed in Vietnam. Then all of a sudden it was like I was one of the men and everybody carried their own duffle bag. I remember that being kind of different. I guess I got to take care of myself there. I learned to take care of myself but I do not think I could say that I was more sexually harassed relative to other times.

Maybe I did not know any better. I know I have a friend that was raped and physically assaulted.

PARTICIPANT: That was in Da Nang?

CAPT McCARTHY: No, she was stationed somewhere else. I do not recall anyone having that problem at Da Nang, of any physical assault.

PARTICIPANT: Was there much general apprehension? I was in Da Nang in 1964. People were always on edge because of its proximity with the De-Militarized Zone (DMZ) and always anticipating attack. Was there any concern about safety?

CAPT McCARTHY: Our own physical safety? Well, first of all there was a more northern place than Da Nang that you could go. That was always the threat in Vietnam. It wasn't that we will send you home, right? That is not much of a threat. It was we will send you further up north. We were one of the northern spots at Da Nang, but then there was Quang Tri and Phu Bai above us so you could also get shipped up there. I knew that I was about 25 miles from Laos and 35 miles from the DMZ. They used to have these red alerts in the middle of the night. This awful siren would go off and then you were supposed to go out into your bunker. I used to always get up, put my hat on and go out there. Nobody else would come out. I would jokingly say, "what if they had a red alert and nobody showed up?" That is what would be happening.

We would joke about it but we did get hit a couple of times. One time the helipad was bombed and we had to go into the bunker. We were upstairs in a hootch; there were about four of us. I had just come home from work and I had stopped at Mike Camp's. He is a psychiatrist.

PARTICIPANT: We know him well.

CAPT McCARTHY: He has written a book. Yes, he and I were very close. He was part of the bunch and we still keep in touch. My friend and I looked at him as our psychiatrist. We had several psychiatrists. I sometimes think (and I cannot speak for Mike's mind) he used to watch us walk home after our day in triage. I always had this feeling that he couldn't offer us anything more than a gin and tonic. He is a psychiatrist and that is what he would do.

PARTICIPANT: It is better than Prozac sometimes.

CAPT McCARTHY: Better than Prozac, exactly. He must have felt a lot of frustration knowing the day that we had spent. Anyway, we would go up and have a gin and tonic with Mike and it was still an early evening. It was daylight and we got hit and we all ran down to the bunker. There was another man there and we had to stay in the bunker for a few hours. That was a little bit scary that time and then another time we got hit with small arms fire through the concertina wire. That was a little scary.

I remember saying in Vietnam, "if I get killed over here, I am going to be really pissed because I did not come over here to get killed." I think that is what kept me going. I really did not come over here to get killed. If I were a man, I think I might have gone to Canada. However, I figured I was a nurse, I came over here to help and I expected the Army to protect me, take care of me and get me back home.

PARTICIPANT: I am curious, knowing something about what the general Harvard community was like in 1969, about the kind of response you got when you told people you had enlisted at Massachussets General Hospital?

CAPT McCARTHY: At Mass General? Well, actually, there were five of us that went into the Army from our class. I did not sense any opposition there. Well, I shouldn't say that. I was going to say there wasn't any in my little town. I came from Cohasset, Massachusetts, but when I came back from Vietnam I was one of only three veterans that would march. Actually it wasn't the town. It was the veterans that did not want to admit being veterans, but we did in our little town. I think the town was very supportive; our little town of Cohasset. We lost eight in Vietnam and for a small town that is a lot. They still ask me to come back and march every year. I always went back every single year for Memorial Day and marched in my Vietnam uniform. But I think I felt more of the opposition here at Walter Reed.

PARTICIPANT: Really? In what way?

CAPT McCARTHY: Well, I remember not being able to wear my uniform through Georgetown or to the airport. You just were not well thought of at all, being in the military.

Then after Vietnam I ended up in Indiana. I went to IUPUI (Indiana University/Purdue University at Indianapolis) for one semester and those people thought I was a Martian. They just could not relate to a woman who was in the Army who just came back from Vietnam.

PARTICIPANT: How did they respond to you?

CAPT McCARTHY: Well, I was in school then and I do not remember them being really nasty to me. I was even asked if I was from another country. I mean, because I had a New England accent.

PARTICIPANT: Was this in Bloomington?

CAPT McCARTHY: This was in Indianapolis.

PARTICIPANT: Oh, Indianapolis.

CAPT McCARTHY: Yes, IUPUI.

PARTICIPANT: What is IUPUI?

CAPT McCARTHY: Indiana University/Purdue University at Indianapolis. It is not the main campus but it is where the Nursing School was.

PARTICIPANT: As a Purdue product and having had relatives in Indiana, I can tell you it is another planet.

CAPT McCARTHY: I can remember working with an oral surgeon in Marion County Hospital in Indianapolis. I was working in the emergency room, which made sense, and I was helping an oral surgeon sew up a face. Of course, they had to close the doors because nurses don't do this. Anyway, he was asking me, "well, where did you come from?" I said, "Vietnam," and he just about fell over. He told me he had never in his life been out of the state of Indiana.

PARTICIPANT: Many of them can say that.

CAPT McCARTHY: He would go to Terre Haute for vacation.

PARTICIPANT: Forgive me if I am monopolizing but I am very interested in when it all came down on you after you came back from Vietnam. That, of course, also seems to involve coming back into what was not the friendliest of environments. How did it come down on you? What kind of things happened?

CAPT McCARTHY: I came right back to school. I left on the 10th of August and I was starting school, I think, on the 21st of August at IUPUI.

PARTICIPANT: So you went directly from Vietnam to Indiana?

CAPT McCARTHY: Yes, I flew. It was amazing. I got out quickly. They were giving school drops and I asked for one but it wasn't coming through at all. I wrote to Senator Ted Kennedy and said I wanted to get out of Vietnam so I could start school. If I waited until October I would miss a whole semester. Kennedy had me out of there in six days. I had been after the Army personnel and the chief nurse for about five months. They said, "no, the paperwork is lost, you know." I just wrote a letter and something happened.

PARTICIPANT: Phone calls from staffers --

CAPT McCARTHY: It is amazing how they have phones that can all of a sudden reach across the pond. The chief nurse came running down and said, "McCarthy, you are out of here. Go pack your bags, you are out of here." That was my goodbye.

I found a surgeon who worked with me in triage. He got his jeep and we put our flak jackets and helmets on and he took me to the airport. That was how I said goodbye. So I was in Indiana and I did not have a lot of friends there. I had one friend.

PARTICIPANT: Anyone with Vietnam experience in your class?

CAPT McCARTHY: In Indiana? Just one man. This was the man I was going with before I went to Vietnam. He was there and he was very supportive. I had a lot of trouble getting close. Obviously I was depressed. I mean I was really depressed. I lost weight. I could not sleep. I slept every other night. The night I slept I had nightmares. When I read about Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, 10 or 20 years later, I realized I never admitted that I had anything wrong with me. Then I read about it and I thought, "oh, boy, that is just about what I went through."

PARTICIPANT: How long did it last?

CAPT McCARTHY: I think that for about six months that it was bad. I think it was another three years where I was in a recovery phase. In six

months, I finished at IUPUI. Then I moved to Denver where there were about ten of us from Vietnam. I did that to be with my friends from Vietnam and that is when we rehashed and rehashed our experiences every day.

PARTICIPANT: Could you talk about what the central issues were when you rehashed it?

CAPT McCARTHY: I think it was probably talking about the patients that died or the ones that we took care of. Maybe we talked about our friends over there. I know the dreams were about patients. I dreamed that I was sent back over; that they sent me back and that they were trying to make me do things with the patients. I would be in this grotesque situation and it would get worse and worse. I would keep thinking, "it is okay because I am going to get back home. I know I am going to get back home." I know that my dreams were related to that. My two friends that were nurses and I would just talk. I guess about what we did over there.

PARTICIPANT: What do you think was the result of being delivered out of an airplane and suddenly you are in Indianapolis with nobody who had shared the experience? It seems like going down without a parachute really.

CAPT McCARTHY: It was a sinking sort of feeling. I think I took two approaches. I tried very hard for a while there to put it behind me and go on with my life. I remember seeing this guy on TV back then who said, "a successful Vietnam veteran is one who puts it all behind and goes on with life." I worked very hard at that approach.

I remember feeling that life was very anticlimactic. There did not seem to be any purpose anymore. I mean, what could I do that would be more challenging than what I was doing over there? I remember wanting to go back. I remember wanting to be back there. I remember promising myself that I would not go back for a year. I felt that there was probably something amuck here so I gave myself a year to see if I still felt that way.

I remember thinking when I went back to my parents and people that they were talking about lunch and going to work. I wondered, "how can you care about those things? There is a war going on." It was odd to me that people cared about such inconsequential things. It was hard for me to get back into anything that was very meaningful.

PARTICIPANT: Nothing could have been as intense as that experience.

CAPT McCARTHY: No, and I could not even think of anything that I could aspire to. I did have a five-year plan which was to go back to school,

finish my college degree and go to anesthesia school. I kept to that plan. That is what I did.

PARTICIPANT: Functionally in terms of your life you just kept going along despite feelings and bad dreams?

CAPT McCARTHY: Yes, I did. I never had a break anywhere in my plan. I was able to do well in school. I think that school was actually very therapeutic because it got me away from the hospital. I think that I needed to be away from the hospital. I was very callous when I came back from Vietnam. I remember working at that hospital in the emergency room. I had student nurses with me and they had this old lady there. I asked a student to take her to X-ray. The student came back a little while later and she was crying. I said, "what is the matter?" She said, "she died." I said, "you are crying over that?" I do not know if I said it or thought it. I thought, "if you only knew what I was holding in my arms last week." That is when I thought to myself, "Jane, you need to get away from this for a while." I did not have the caring that I had before. That was a change in me that I did not like.

I was able to get into school. I was already in school and was working part-time. I do not think I went back to an emergency room after that.

PARTICIPANT: What proportion of your patients were you losing?

CAPT McCARTHY: Not many. If they came in alive they usually lived. Some came in dead and we had to bag those. We had to go through those bodies and look for their ID's or their dogtags.

PARTICIPANT: Help me if you can. A lot was done some years ago on the issue of traumatic burnout for people like oncologists and Critical Care Unit (CCU) nurses. The issue was always that they lost about 95% of their patients. What was there about this when you were in Vietnam?

CAPT McCARTHY: What was it that was so traumatic? I think it was the atrocity, the mangling, the loss of limb. It was the gunshots to the back with the paralysis and the tracheotomies; seeing the healthy eighteen-year-old that came in and did not have his leg or his arm anymore. The face wounds, chest wounds, that kind of thing.

I think what helped me get through it over there was I kept thinking, "I did not do this and I'm his best shot." I would think this when I had to put a chest tube in and I am looking around and there is nobody else but me. "I am his best shot." Then there was starting the lines. I got so good at the external jugular.

When I first started it was hard but then it got so easy because I was this guy's best shot. This helped me rationalize and get through it. I could help patch them up.

PARTICIPANT: Were there male nurses over there?

CAPT McCARTHY: Not many. Our nurse anesthetists were male nurses. It seems when I think about it that we had two or three male nurse anesthetists.

PARTICIPANT: There were far fewer men, I know that.

PARTICIPANT: One of the things we have wondered about is differences in reactions of men and women to the same situation. I was going to ask you if you could tell if there were any particular things that you observed yourself. Were there things that women had particular trouble with that may not have been so likely among men, or was it all the same?

CAPT McCARTHY: I do not know. I do not know if you can generalize. There are at least two approaches to nursing. One is this, "we have to get tough to make you strong to get you out of here." I think that may have been more of a way to survive.

The other approach is to be more empathetic and more understanding. I think, at least initially, I was more the empathetic type; empathizing with the men in their difficult situation. Especially with the drug abuse. It was at its peak when I arrived and they had not done anything about it. They, meaning the military, just did not acknowledge that it even existed. I remember being very empathetic initially and trying to help these young people that would come in strung out on heroin. There was heroin. Of course, there was marijuana and some kind of speed and downers.

I remember when they would come in. They wanted to get off the drugs, especially heroin, so they could get home. We could offer them a shot of thorazine and we would tie them up in a couple of stretchers but we could not admit them. Psychiatry would not admit them. No one would admit them. I would tie them up. They could stay with me for the night. I would give them a couple of shots of thorazine. Then I would have to say goodbye in the morning. After doing this for a few months I remember saying to them, "go back to your unit and find a connex. Get your best friends to lock you up in a connex box for three days." That would be their withdrawal.

Anyway, I empathized a lot with that but then within six months my empathy became much less. Once I had a fellow come in and tell me his story. He said, "I am in Vietnam. I am in the rear here. I have to do this. My boss is not nice to me." The more I listened the more I realized it was the same story as mine.

I said, "I am in the same situation and I am not shooting heroin." I kind of toughened up that way.

PARTICIPANT: Do you think most women tended to come in with the empathetic sort of approach to casualties, trauma and problems?

CAPT McCARTHY: Yes, I think we did where I was working in triage. One thing that we did, my friends and I, was set up a pediatric clinic. Maybe it was to help that part of us, so that we could be more female or empathetic or normal. The three of us would have these kids that would come in for whatever reason and we would take care of them. That seemed a very nurturing thing to do.

PARTICIPANT: What about the physicians and the medics? Were they non-empathetic or empathetic?

CAPT McCARTHY: I would say that the medics were empathetic but they were young. They were very young and did not have a lot of experience. They had problems. Some of them had been out in the field for six months. They came to us because they went off. I had medics who were heroin addicts who overdosed. We had problems there. For me, anyway, they were not somebody that you put your trust in. It was more that you had to be the caretaker of them.

PARTICIPANT: Of them as well. And the physicians?

CAPT McCARTHY: I think the physicians were very supportive for the most part. Some were not as prepared as others. I remember we had an ERP, Emergency Room Physician, who was an internal medicine specialist. They pulled him out of his residency, gave him six weeks of anesthesia training and sent him over as an anesthesiologist. He was working with me as an ERP. We received this soldier who had been shot in the back. He was paralyzed and was not breathing. I said, "this man needs a tube, he needs to be ventilated." He looks over to me and he said, "call anesthesia." I said, "you are anesthesia." I always remember that because I am a nurse anesthetist now. The poor doctor, that was kind of a tough situation to be in. He was supposed to be an anesthesiologist in six weeks. He did the best that he could do.

We also had very good surgeons. We had a lot of surgeons and orthopedics; a couple of eye specialists and a couple of neurosurgeons. I think for the most part we all worked as a really good team. I do not remember there being problems at all. I really do not. There were tough triage decisions that had to be made with the expectant head wounds. I remember at times getting in several head

wounds at once. The neurosurgeon had to make the decision of which one you take to the operating room. Then I would have to sit with the expectant ones. Those were tough, tough decisions.

PARTICIPANT: Did you ever become so hardened you did not care when you were sitting with an expectant, for example? I am asking you that because it does not sound at this point as if you did.

CAPT McCARTHY: No, I do not think so. Not over there. The only thing I can really remember getting hardened to were the heroin addicts. I remember being empathetic initially and then after that I was not. As far as the wounded, I think I gave it my all while I was over there. I know I did not cry very much. During the last couple of weeks, I am not sure if I knew I was leaving. I probably did not, but I remember going out at noon every day and crying and then I would come back. No one ever saw me.

PARTICIPANT: Do you know why that happened then?

CAPT McCARTHY: I think I had reached a point where I did not know if I could keep doing this anymore. My friends were leaving. As I was saying when I first got there we made a group of friends. They had all already been there when I arrived. As we got through the year, starting in June, they were leaving. I think I was feeling very long in country and I was not about to make any friends.

PARTICIPANT: You were not recruiting new members into the group.

CAPT McCARTHY: No, not really.

PARTICIPANT: Or new folk coming in, new nurses, new docs?

CAPT McCARTHY: Yes, but I do not remember.

PARTICIPANT: It sounds like your group was kind of unique then; the one that you joined when you got there and it did not recur.

CAPT McCARTHY: No.

PARTICIPANT: I wonder why? Did you ever wonder about how that particular group happened to come together or what maintained it or how that came to be?

CAPT McCARTHY: We are all friends still.

PARTICIPANT: How do you think that happened?

CAPT McCARTHY: I do not know. As I said, there were one or two physicians I knew back here. They were in the group but most of them were people that I met there. Is this unusual?

PARTICIPANT: No, I am just curious. I think it is very interesting.

PARTICIPANT: Usually there is some new recruitment as people go. Your group seems to have had a real obvious sense of loss as people left. You were not a short timer then. You were at the tail end of the group that was vanishing. Had anyone fit in that you had known before?

CAPT McCARTHY: Before Vietnam? Just the two physicians.

PARTICIPANT: No, into the group. Anyone you had known at Walter Reed?

CAPT McCARTHY: After I had been there six months or something? No, I do not remember anyone else that I knew. I am trying to think. I must have oriented some new nurses down there but I honestly do not remember.

PARTICIPANT: It sounds like you were not demanding of each other for one thing, rather more supporting of each other.

CAPT McCARTHY: Yes. I do not think we were demanding of each other. We were just there, together.

PARTICIPANT: You said you had to go through the belongings of the dead. I have done some work with Army GR people and I wondered if you had a GR group there at the hospital.

CAPT McCARTHY: What is GR?

PARTICIPANT: Graves Registration.

CAPT McCARTHY: Graves Registration. No, we did not have any. The morgue was somewhere else. We had a morgue in the back of the hospital. I know there was a refrigeration building but the official Da Nang morgue was somewhere else. I do not know why these bodies sometimes came to us but sometimes they did. The choppers would phone in and say that they had some KIA's (Killed in Action). Maybe it was because the morgue was too busy or something, I do not know; but they had to bring them in to us.

PARTICIPANT: I am surprised that they did not have at least one person. How did you evacuate them or what happened to them after you went through the belongings?

CAPT McCARTHY: I think they went to our morgue and then I think they probably got put on a bus and bused over. I do not think another helicopter came and picked them up because I think I would have remembered. I do not remember us ever taking anything and putting it on a helicopter. We were usually taking them off.

PARTICIPANT: Central Morgue was at Dong Son Yet?

CAPT McCARTHY: In Saigon, yes.

PARTICIPANT: But there would have been a different collection point.

CAPT McCARTHY: I Corps, right. I remember these casualties, I think from Monkey Mountain, when this bombing went on. It was close to us and that is why they brought them to us.

PARTICIPANT: Da Nang was the closest point to bring them and get them evacuated.

CAPT McCARTHY: Yes, I remember vaguely about them being very close. We had that and then we had mass casualties happen occasionally. They would load up a Chinook and bring the helicopter in in the middle of the night. I would be on alone at night working from 7:00 to 7:00. On nights, there was an emergency room physician, two corpsmen, a blood bank person, a lab person and the radio person. They would all go to bed and I would have to be the nurse. Of course, nurses never sleep. I had to stay up and listen for the choppers. Then if something came in I would have to go around and wake everybody up. That happened occasionally. I can remember mass casualties coming in and I was the only nurse.

I remember that we would have a night supervisor. She would come down and help with the paperwork but she did not have the experience. She did not know how to start IV's or do the work that we had to do. That was pretty horrendous.

PARTICIPANT: Can I ask you one or two more questions about the casualties? You said you had to do some preliminary identification on them before they were sent out. You said you had to look for dog tags among the dead.

CAPT McCARTHY: Yes, they would come in in a body bag and then we would search for any kind of ID. Then we would tag the toes and if we found a name we would fill out as much of the paperwork as we could.

PARTICIPANT: Try and get a presumptive ID?

CAPT McCARTHY: Yes, and do anything we could fill out on that paperwork. We were the first ones, I suppose, there to identify anything. We would tag the bodies and do as much of that as we could.

PARTICIPANT: Do you have a feeling whether that was any more difficult than dealing with the casualties that were alive?

CAPT McCARTHY: I remember having to do that once. I remember working nights. I remember being up all night long with mass casualties and then the day people came in. I remember that I could not go home because we had so many. I remember them putting me back, or I might have volunteered, to bag the bodies because I figured that it was less risky.

PARTICIPANT: Less risky in what sense?

CAPT McCARTHY: In hurting anyone. I mean these people were dead. I remember being very, very tired but they still needed me so that is what I went back and did.

Which was harder? That was pretty hard. That was still pretty hard to do and it sticks with me. I think I believed that it was something that most people would never have to do in their lifetime.

MAJ SUTTON: We have about two minutes left. I am wondering to what extent the experiences and lessons that you and your peers in Vietnam had are incorporated into the training that nurses presently get to prepare them for triage and wartime duties?

CAPT McCARTHY: That I know of?

MAJ SUTTON: That you know of. I do not know much about how nurses are trained or prepared.

CAPT McCARTHY: In terms of people being better prepared?

MAJ SUTTON: Right, in terms of being able to learn from the lessons of your experience and incorporate it into your training.

PARTICIPANT: Did anyone debrief you?

CAPT McCARTHY: No.

MAJ SUTTON: I am thinking that could be another facet of this project even though it is 25 years later. Certainly the lessons that you describe are timeless in terms of what happens.

CAPT McCARTHY: I have never been asked by the Army or by any of the services to share or to teach or to do anything to help prepare for triage events. I do not know of any programs that have been done to do that.

MAJ SUTTON: None of your friends or peers that you know of have been involved?

CAPT McCARTHY: Not with the military.

DR. MARLOWE: Do you have specific ideas on the kinds of preparation and training that should be done, of nurses in particular, before going into combat?

CAPT McCARTHY: You know I have not really thought about it. You know what hits me more, is helping them afterwards. I think if only there had been help there at the time.

PARTICIPANT: We have learned a little bit about that. When we brought people back from the Gulf we tried not to bring them back the way you were brought back. I think we need to know a lot more. That is where people like you can be extraordinarily helpful in helping us to formulate the right way to approach people. Much of what you have suffered is perfectly normal. It happens to people that are exposed to this kind of horror. In some ways we should be grateful that we do respond that way because if we did not feel anything we would be awfully base animals. We should be prepared to help them deal with the residue of the horror.

CAPT McCARTHY: I think maybe what helped me is our little group had enough sense at some level to get together afterwards. I have talked to a lot of veterans that never saw one other person again after Vietnam.

PARTICIPANT: That was the norm. You got off a plane at Travis and on to another plane and you were home three hours later. In many cases you were home to have people spitting in your face.

CAPT McCARTHY: We had enough sense in Vietnam to at least exchange addresses and knew how to get in touch with one another. We did that through the years. We have done that. Maybe we all would have been a lot worse

off if we had not done that. I think maybe we helped each other more than any structured counseling. I do not want to say any but you cannot just go to general sort of counseling to help deal with it. That was the feeling there when you got back. Who could I talk to? Nobody understands what I have been through. The only people that understand are the ones that are up in the trees with you.

PARTICIPANT: I think this is why we have so many fewer problems from World War II. People came back together and the coming back process took months. Then usually at the end of it you had thirty days on ship to sit and talk. On the other hand, you were driven to the airport. I assume, I do not know whether you flew directly out of Da Nang or you went to --

CAPT McCARTHY: No, I went to Dong Son Yet (?) for three days and then to Washington.

PARTICIPANT: With no one you knew?

CAPT McCARTHY: No, and then they processed me out in eight hours and said goodbye.

PARTICIPANT: Where are you going? Here is your ticket.

CAPT McCARTHY: Here is your ticket. Here is all of your money. You are out of the Army, you are on your own. Eight hours.

MAJ SUTTON: We need to draw it to a close at this point but I want to thank you so much for coming and sharing your experiences.

**A Brief History of the Army Nurse Corps:
Stressors and Moderators**

COL Rosemary T. McCarthy, NC, USA (Ret)

COL Rosemary T. McCarthy is our guest today. Dr. McCarthy is a retired Army nurse with a very distinguished career in both nursing history, philanthropy and a number of other areas. She received her diploma in nursing from the McClean Hospital of Nursing. She followed with a bachelor of science in nursing from the University of Minnesota, a masters from Boston University in biology and her doctorate of nursing from the Catholic University of America in 1974.

Her history in Army nursing goes back to the beginning of 1953 when she was the head staff nurse in surgical intensive care in post anesthesia recovery in Korea, San Francisco, Hawaii, Texas and Japan. Following that she had a long career in nursing education with assignments at Letterman, Walter Reed Army Medical Center, the Tripler Army Medical Center, the Office of the Surgeon General, and the Army Medical Department Personnel Support Agency. She finally ended her career as the Army Nurse Corps historian at the U.S. Army Center of Military History in 1983. Her honors also include being a Fellow of the American Academy of Nursing, an academic honorary society. She is also, as I understand, the only woman presidential appointee, to the Korean War Veterans Memorial Advisory Board. Her vitae continues with her publications and her professional activities which include being a eucharistic minister of the Roman Catholic Church in Washington, D.C. and a member of the Committee of 100 from the Mary Elizabeth Carnegie Chair of Howard University. Colonel McCarthy is also a past president and executive director of the American Association of History of Nursing. Her publications are too numerous to review in detail; however, it is noteworthy that she has written biographies of several Chiefs of the Army Nurse Corps. She currently is working on an oral history entitled, "My Most Memorable Patient."

COL McCARTHY: From talking to Dr. McCarroll and also Major Moore, I thought the focus would be on research on women in the service. I recall that while I was assigned at the Institute of Research, under the guidance of Harriet Werley and Dr. Phyllis Verhonnick, I did some brainstorming and wrote up several protocols suggesting at that time (which would have been in the early 70's, I think) different kinds of studies that ought to be done on women in the service. In particular, nursing was our focus, but women also because there were more and more enlisted women coming into the medical department. We put them through but they never got anywhere. That is why I smiled when you suggested that.

Later, while I was working as a consultant and when General Parks was the chief of the Army Nurse Corps, the Army Nurse Corps had evolved and grown. It had many more people who were interested in research and who had some formal academic training in research. I myself went through the program they had which was comparable to the program for physicians and allied health people.

PARTICIPANT: The WRAIN (Walter Reed Army Institute of Nursing) program?

COL McCARTHY: No, this is at WRAIR (Walter Reed Army Institute of Research). I am not remembering the name of it but we called it Advance Military Nursing Practice and Research and we had some classes with the allied scientists, in particular the biochemistry and statistics areas. This was before the time of calculators. Does anybody else know what a Monroe calculator is? We could never figure out how that worked.

One of our young women used to get so upset with that thing. It was a wonderful experience and that was the first formal training that I had in the research process. That was the brainchild of Dr. Harry Agrelli, who is currently an emeritus professor at the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee.

Harriet Werley had been assigned to WRAIR as part of the atomic casualties study group. She saw this golden opportunity for nursing to have a place where a few could gather, learn, and develop their skills in the process and therefore contribute to the profession and patient care. She focused on practice rather than on teaching or administration. For that reason, the department of nursing at WRAIR was the first formal department of nursing research in the Army and also the first formal one that focused on clinical practice rather than education.

This would be 1958, 1960. She went there around 1958, 1956 maybe. She was out there in Nevada when they did the field test with the pigs. She then picked out four students and I happened to be one of them. The one woman, the oldest of us at that time, was a Major Moseley. The rest of us were all captains. Major Moseley was a black graduate of Freedman's Hospital and a well respected clinical nurse. She has since passed away.

The other first two people in the class were Colonel Katherine Galloway, who retired as the chief nurse of Walter Reed Army Medical Center, and Colonel Eleanor Sullivan, who retired as the chief nurse at William Beaumont and who lives down there. In fact, I talked with her the other night. She just had a knee replacement. That is what I find out from most of my friends. Colonel Galloway passed away as well. Out of the first class there are two of us living; there were about eight classes. Only during Vietnam did they discontinue it but they started it up again after.

The whole program was stopped because by this time the civilian sector was getting its act together in terms of doctoral programs for nurses. The wisdom of the time said it would be better to have people go to those programs. They would then have a variety of learning opportunities and bring their different ideas back into the Army. At this time, the remnants and the growth of nursing research within the formal system reside in the few departments of nursing research in the major medical centers; primarily the one here at Walter Reed. It was after that that I got my chance to get my masters at Boston University and finally my doctorate here, all under the auspices of good Uncle Sam.

PARTICIPANT: Was there also a school of nursing, itself?

COL McCARTHY: Oh, WRAIN was on at the time. I do not have the exact dates but I can send you a little chronology of things like that. I better make myself a note.

PARTICIPANT: Do you have some ballpark for when it ended?

COL McCARTHY: It was sometime in the late 1950's, early 1960's because it was ongoing at the time I was a student in 1961.

PARTICIPANT: Post Korean War probably.

COL McCARTHY: Right, I know it was during my tour there. It might have been after I had finished the program which would be around 1962. Do you know Col Nablock? He was the chairman of the Surgeon General's Committee that was going to evaluate whether or not they really wanted to have another school, to reinstate the Army school. General Heaton envisioned it to be very much like the first Army School of Nursing which started in the 1920's and went to 1932.

We in this little group sitting up there on the hill at WRAIR felt that it would have been a tactical error to reinstate a hospital school of nursing, a non-academic program. We went in our own cars and went to two of the good, really tiptop hospital schools in the area and two of the university schools and brought the curriculum and the material back to the committee. We then talked Dr. Nablock into being on our side. The school worked cooperatively with the University of Maryland because they had the power to grant the degree.

I later worked at Andrews and then Hawaii as a head nurse and nursing supervisor and had the chance to work with some of the students that had graduated. I was really very pleased, because there was a difference in their attitude about the Army and about being a military nurse. Sometimes you will get a very good nurse out of a university but not a very good Army nurse. They had been socialized into military living, not completely to be sure, but better than the others. That was just an aside. I do not think it appears anywhere in the record.

PARTICIPANT: During their time in the nursing school did they have field experiences?

COL McCARTHY: No, they did not. As opposed to the current ROTC program, which is actually doing a little bit better job, as far as I have heard. Now, I have not had any experience with the graduates of that program but I think the Army nurses that are in the responsible positions are fairly well pleased with the way that that is going.

PARTICIPANT: With regard to your views over the long course, how have you seen women's issues in nursing in the Army evolve and change? Could you discuss that for a moment?

COL McCARTHY: Well, first of all, when I came into the Army the people were not married or at least not openly married. Now they are not openly living together.

PARTICIPANT: If they were married they --

COL McCARTHY: It was just the rule. If you were married you could not be in the Army. Now that changed shortly thereafter but that was one of the requirements.

PARTICIPANT: For women?

COL McCARTHY: For women.

PARTICIPANT: Because?

COL McCARTHY: Because they did not want all the trappings of husbands and children and that is basically the point of view. It was thought, no matter how you dress it up, for the good of the child or what have you, assignment policies, housing policies, what have you, would become too difficult. You could put all these single women in Delano Hall and if you had women and children, can you imagine what that would have been like? Even though Delano Hall was a fairly nice building. It had its formal reception room and places where you could meet people.

I think housing is still a problem but that is not just for women. I think it is still a problem for single officers and I do not know what they are doing about single or unmarried parents. Do they provide them with onpost housing? Do they? They would never have thought of that in my day. Well, that is a huge change.

I personally have not realized any particular change that I would attribute to DACOWITS (Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services) but I may be short sighted. I do not know. They have a nice visit and maybe enlighten one or two people when they talk.

PARTICIPANT: How long have they been in business?

COL McCARTHY: They have been around for a good long time. I do not know the exact date. I think that the use of Army nurses, in staff positions has surely grown. This is reflected by these appointments of specialty consultants in nursing. We also had nurses in the Surgeon General's office -- as I can recall there were about three of them besides the Office of the Child Nurse, with one maybe in Operations but it wasn't operations in terms of planning battles and what have you. It had to do with supply, equipment and safety and things of that nature. The Hospital Planning Association has had nurses in there at least since 1970.

There are plenty of nurses who will not agree with this change but now that you see the Chief of the Army Nurse Corps having to assume some of the other non-Corps specific tasks, that is a change.

I was looking through some old papers and I saw one about rearranging the line of command for the Department of Nursing. The recommendation was to have the chief nurse directly responsible to the commander, as is the chief of medicine, and all the other chiefs. As it stands now, at least to my knowledge, the chief nurse goes to the chief of professional services. I think that is still the case. They give a report to the commander but the evaluation chain may still be through the chief of professional services. I do not know because I just have not paid attention to these things. I think there is still a long way to go.

PARTICIPANT: When I was down visiting with Major Moore we looked through some of the archives. I ran across a document that was written by, I think it was Secretary Stimson's niece, a nurse in World War II and she was making an appeal to -- I am not sure who it was written to --

COL McCARTHY: Julia Catherine Stimson.

PARTICIPANT: I am not sure who it was appealing to but she talked about some of the women's issues that were alive in that day. I think she wanted Secretary Stimson to come in and take a hand in it or something like that. She talked about unattractive clothing, unappealing food, difficult duty stations, things like that. Major Moore said these are still the same issues today. I was wondering if --

COL McCARTHY: Well, I was going to mention the uniform.

PARTICIPANT: If you would, please. The question I was really getting to, if you could imagine yourself in a group of nurses long ago, what would they talk about, what would they complain about, what were their day-to-day issues? Something to that effect.

COL McCARTHY: The things that Stimson was talking about had to do with the time for them to be evacuated, back after the end of World War I. For one thing, the nurses did not hold a military rank. They had a commission or a contract. So they did not have military status. It wasn't until after the first World War that relative rank came in and even then nurses were not paid the same. I mean, after all, the attitude was it does not cost as much for a woman to live --

PARTICIPANT: They were not actually on active duty?

COL McCARTHY: They were on active duty and they had to follow the rules and they had a uniform.

PARTICIPANT: Did they have the same ranks?

COL McCARTHY: Well, they only had second lieutenant to major. So the whole issue of rank entered into this. Because they did not have rank they were not held equal in the priority list to a male second lieutenant. If there were two seats on the train, the man got it. Some of them had weeks and months of delay before they could get on board a ship to come back or on a train. This was in Europe.

PARTICIPANT: Was this for nurses or for women?

COL McCARTHY: This was for nurses because there weren't any other women.

PARTICIPANT: Was it true for anyone else in the military other than nurses?

COL McCARTHY: Enlisted people. They were below the nurses. If you get the menus for the Christmas dinners in the units, you see that it listed officers -- Dr. So-and-So -- all the way down, and soldiers, all the way down, and then the nurses. That gives you an idea of where they were in the pecking order. Even though they may have influenced by their sheer will a lot of what happened at the bedside in the medical environment.

Dora Thompson, whom we have talked about, or mentioned, was able to get a regulation written that stated that the senior clinical nurse had authority next to the doctor in matters of patient care. That was never in Army Regulations. It was a regulation that just came out of the Surgeon General's office.

However, it helped the nurses because you know that some of the enlisted people were not necessarily well educated or well motivated. You went to a commanding officer of a brigade or a battalion and you said, "I need a hundred people, can you send them to me?" Who do you think he would send? The worst, or the bands. In fact, frequently the cook was a bandsman who wasn't playing so good.

PARTICIPANT: You used the term relative rank. Was that an official term?

COL McCARTHY: It was an official term.

PARTICIPANT: What does that mean?

COL McCARTHY: It meant it was relative. It is like frocking. In style they looked like lieutenants but they did not get the same pay as lieutenants.

PARTICIPANT: I see, they wore that but they did not --

COL McCARTHY: They did not get the same retirement. Well, they got the same health care because they knew the doctors. That is about what it is today.

PARTICIPANT: When did that go out? Do you know?

COL McCARTHY: It went out around 1942 with the passage of the Army/Navy Nurse Act. I think it was 1942. If it wasn't, it is around that. However, you see, that is not a long time ago.

PARTICIPANT: So what did that Act do?

COL McCARTHY: That Act actually made them members of the regular Army. Then only women. It was 1955 before the male nurses became eligible. I was in Korea when we had enlisted men who were nurses. They were good, too. It was just a fluke.

Anita Newcomb McGee herself was a specialist here in the city and offered her support to the Surgeon General, George Sternberg, who accepted it. He was not really in favor of having any women up at the front or even near the front. Many of them never got there because of the way the war went. It was a pretty fast war. They were on hand to take care of the patients in the camps who had all of the terrible conditions brought on by ignorance and poor planning.

PARTICIPANT: Was this World War --

COL McCARTHY: No, this is the Spanish American War. Some of them did get to Havana but most of the nurses were in the camps down in Georgia, Florida and Carolina and then up in New York. They were sick. They were sick with yellow fever and all kinds of dysenteries and malaria.

That was the first war where there were actually registered nurses, nurses with at least two years of training. Many of the physicians were impressed with how well they could manage because they had some ability to organize and to command respect and to get cleanliness into the everyday activities. Some of them though, only served a month or two. It is a strange thing to try to track it down and to find out whether it was a unified Corps. It certainly was in the sense that McGee was a forceful person and she apparently had strong attachments to the nurses that she brought in. By the same token, she really was not the chief of the Army Nurse Corps. She was the one who wrote the legislation, developing it after the Spanish American War in response to the Dodge Commission's investigation of the medical care during the Spanish American War. All through that, the only ones that got any kind of good press were the nurses.

The military did such things as put all the medical supplies in the bottom of the ship. They then sent the ship over to Havana and some of those other places which I have never visited. I understand they are not easy harbors so that it is hard to get a big ship in and unload it. They had horses and everything else on the ship. You can tell that the people there who needed medical supplies did not get them.

I think that the first formal Army Nurse Corps (and we celebrate it) was established February 2, 1901. If you are ever around a major nursing unit you can usually get a piece of cake on that day.

PARTICIPANT: How did things continue to develop then? If you could give us your perspective.

COL McCARTHY: Well, I think it was people like Stimson who were key players. After the war, she came back and was eventually the chief of the Army Nurse Corps and also the director of the Army School of Nursing for its last several decades. She had political clout and understanding and was a foresighted person. She had a degree in social work from St. Louis University. She had been the chief nurse at the Harlem Hospital in one of her early assignments and then went from St. Louis to Washington University. She was a very influential nurse. Mary Sarnecky can give you line and verse on Julia Catherine because she did her dissertation on her.

The woman that had started the School of Nursing went on to Yale to be the director of the nursing program at Yale. It was actually a master's level program because in order to get into it you had to have a degree. That was really probably the first. Columbia University is also one of the first because they had a program at Teacher's College which started out as what used to be called graduate studies and then finally developed into a master's and doctoral program. Actually, they are not doing too well right now as far as I can hear.

They were the leadership. There was also a group of people at Catholic University, strange as it may seem, who were influential by virtue of the fact that they were here. Sister Olivia, the initial dean at the school, at Catholic, was very active with the National League for Nursing Education and also had received her degree up at Columbia.

There was a network within the Catholic system, which was quite extensive in the hospital business. Within the secular system they had the bases covered with Catholic University and Columbia until other schools started to develop; particularly the University of Chicago, University of Illinois, and California schools. They were taking their cue from what they were seeing in the civilian sector and what they had learned at the schools they went to.

PARTICIPANT: What is different today from your standpoint? What would you say the major issues facing the Nurse Corps today are?

COL McCARTHY: I haven't heard them talking. I have not been in on any of the meetings. However, I would say one of the major issues is one that has always been there. It is somehow establishing the recognition of the contribution that professional nursing makes. I think that it started out as an apprenticeship business. Nursing has been very hard put to get rid of that image. Now part of it is because they tread on territory that others think belongs to them.

It is not hard to understand. I think because of shortages and cutbacks, everyone is going to say, "we can substitute a 91C for a nurse. We do it all the time. When we go to war, we do." It does not always work. I would think that a good study would be, for instance, what difference is there if there is one ward that has professional nursing and one ward that does not in terms of length of stay, complications, outcome, even if it isn't length of stay, of productivity and so forth on the part of the soldiers?

We talk about soldiers. The Army has committed, at least as far as I can say, to considering people in terms of family. Families have to have somebody who is holding it all together. It may be a single parent. I marvel at what some of

these young people are able to do. If we are going to have cutbacks, I think this is a question for the Army, where would you put your professional help or knowledge? Would it go into doing the repetitive tasks or would you put it in the planning point of view. If you put it in the planning point of view, are you robbing the patients of something they could get no other place? I think that in many instances they have demonstrated that there is a difference in the quality of care when professionally trained nurse clinicians are providers as compared to practical nurses.

PARTICIPANT: I want to ask you to clarify, please, when you said the Army committed itself to care of families and you asked the question of who is holding it together?

COL McCARTHY: Yes, who is holding the family together?

PARTICIPANT: Could you elaborate on that, please?

COL McCARTHY: Well, I mean those questions you have to answer when you are deploying people to DESERT STORM or wherever the next place is. What happens? Is the Army going to have some kind of a real public health operation or is it just going to call itself preventive medicine?

PARTICIPANT: For the family?

COL McCARTHY: For the families. When I was medicinal supervisor at Tripler I would have loved to have asked them to set up a kind of half-way house for family members who were having surgery. I am absolutely appalled. I do not know how people are managing today. This is not just the Army. Maybe we are even better off then some of the civilian people. I see and hear of people who go in, have major surgery and go home the next day. Well, they may be able to get home but how can they manage once they get there?

I myself this past year had two angioplasties; one in November and one in January, the same vessel in January. I am able to take care of myself and I only have two cats to worry about but I was told specifically, "do not lift anything heavy." Have you ever tried to work around the house without lifting something heavy?

PARTICIPANT: Did they tell you how heavy?

COL McCARTHY: I finally asked. I got a ballpark figure, 25 pounds. I do think that there is a need for some type of imagination or imaginative "what-if"ing and you people, I hope that is maybe what you are interested in.

PARTICIPANT: So one of the things that you are suggesting is that the present health care system is, in fact, running an experiment on the effect of decreasing the amount of nursing care.

COL McCARTHY: Yes, and that is motivated by money primarily and in the Army that translates into faces and places. When I said that enough was never enough, I was the head nurse on the recovery ward at Tripler when I first was assigned there. It was a funny recovery ward in that it was a recovery ward, a surgical intensive care unit and a trauma unit. You never could staff for it because you never knew what was going to happen. We would have 25 to 30 surgical procedures. Half of them would be of the minor kind and then another four or five would be in what would be called surgical intensive care. That is a tube in every place and a couple extra. Then at the end of the hall was the trauma room. At any time of the day or night those doors could open and in come somebody who had been standing on the street corner reading their Bible when somebody stabbed them or something to that effect.

I remember one fellow was riding a motorcycle up in the hills under the influence of something, I do not know what, when he hit the sand, went up into the air, came down and his leg came down on a stop sign. It just severed it. He stayed with us a long time. This was the kind of kid who wasn't able to cope anyway or he would not have been out there riding a motorcycle under the influence. He had nothing to work with and he was very difficult.

I do not know what is going to happen but I suppose if we send them home we do not know what is happening. Is that the way the Army is going to deal with it? It has not been their tradition. We used to take care of the soldier until he was ready for duty.

This guy probably would never be ready for duty. If you were on the board that I serve on for the Korean War veterans, you would know there are some who could make it. Bill Webber, for instance, who is a bilateral amputee below the knee and below the elbow talked the Army into letting him stay on and he served a full thirty years. He had the resources. He was also wounded in Korea under fire. Since Vietnam, you know, a lot of fellows were wounded under the influence.

PARTICIPANT: You are in an important area for us, the issues of casualty care and trauma care, over time how has that changed? What is it that makes it harder and what makes it better?

COL McCARTHY: Well, it is better in that there are more technical developments. Skin grafting has improved. Infection control has

improved. You know, in Korea for instance, there were not any real bad infections until the people got back into established hospitals. Whereas if you get a bunch of civilian causalities and they come right into a medical facility, there are a lot of bugs around the medical facility that you would not find in the dirt, in the war.

PARTICIPANT: Where were you assigned in Korea?

COL McCARTHY: I was at the 44th Surgical Hospital. I was there very late and it was just about 15 miles north of Seoul, almost to the DMZ (De-militarized Zone). As a matter of fact, some of the men from Headquarters would come up to little dances and things we had, and they would always say, "well, back to the front."

We were on a little hill. You could not see anything but rice paddies and a little village where all the linen went periodically. I would say to one young man I knew, (I can remember him because he was a hood from New York) "we are going to have a linen count tomorrow. I would like to see that closet full of linen, clean linen." It would be. That is all there was to it. There were some nice kids, hoods or otherwise.

PARTICIPANT: So you were there in 1953?

COL McCARTHY: 1953 and part of 1954. I was there a good part of 1954 because I also spent some time in Japan at Camp Wood with the 187th and 506th Airborne.

PARTICIPANT: What were the nurses saying about the military tactics as the war was going on? Did they think the people knew what they were doing at that time?

COL McCARTHY: I do not think we said a word about it. I do not think it bothered us because it was not within our capacity to influence. The big thing was what were we going to have for supper and was it going to be cold? Would the water run in the shower and stuff like that. We were not under stress. I would not call it stress.

I think, too, that it has been hard for me to realize just how much people feel the stress. For instance, I was at a conference that was talking about military nursing. I think it was during buildup for DESERT STORM, and this happened to be an Air Force nurse that was talking. She was going on at a great clip telling us about the hardships she was encountering in the permanent building

in London. I thought, "gee whiz, so it is all in the eye of the beholder," and I think camp is a good thing for young people to have an experience at. Especially a primitive camp where there is an outhouse and where you have to wash your clothes in the lake and things of that nature; where you learn to make do.

In my era in nursing school, we had a class called Nursing Arts III. It was specifically improvisation and management of patients under unusual circumstances like in the home. In that day the home was called an unusual circumstance for taking care of patients because this was the heyday of hospital care. The home was the original place that patients were cared for. With the coming of the Depression it was harder and harder for people to get jobs so they did hire out as private duty nurses and the hospitals were just beginning to grow. They would go in and do private duty nursing in the hospital and finally the hospitals got wise. They said, "well, why don't we make the money and we will charge the private duty fee and assign somebody to care for the patient."

PARTICIPANT: Do you think the Vietnam War changed nursing?

COL McCARTHY: No, I think nursing was changed and continued to change during, before and after. I do not think it changed nursing in the Army. Most of the people who served in Vietnam who were regular Army went on to serve and complete a regular Army tour. Some of them had some difficulties but most of them, if they had it, denied it. I mean, they did not go around saying, "I am having flashbacks and what have you." They may have had too much to drink or gotten themselves in other kinds of difficulties, but that happens anyway.

PARTICIPANT: Wasn't there a big buildup for nurses for Vietnam?

COL McCARTHY: Not really. I think they came out of the civilian sector for the most part with the leadership coming out of the regular Army. That is the way it worked in Korea, too. They never had to close down any of the hospital beds in the states in either of those two periods.

PARTICIPANT: The nurses who served in Vietnam, what did they think that the public thought of them?

COL McCARTHY: I think that you would have to ask them because I did not serve in Vietnam. I have heard some of them say that, "I volunteered to go but they sent me to Hawaii. I was pleased." The most vocal of the ones were people who were in just a short time. Those were the most vocal people. As was true with the men I would venture to say.

Many of them, like many who went to Korea, were young and inexperienced in terms of their nursing. Before I joined the Army, I had seven years of nursing experience. Most people who join the Army today have a half a year if that much. They have been very protected during that learning period. We were not. I mean we were protected for the first six months. That was called probation. If you made it through probation then you could do anything and in a pinch you were asked to do it. You got a pretty good opinion of your own ability. I think it happens to physicians who go through medical school and clinic and then into their internship. By that time they are pretty smart, or at least we think they are.

PARTICIPANT: Did people who were in nursing school at the time of the draft in Vietnam go over and serve?

COL McCARTHY: Well, no, they would not have because they had to have it in order to get into the Army Nurse Corps. The Army Nurse Corps was an officer corps and you had to be a registered nurse and have a diploma from a school of nursing. Now since 1972, you had to have the baccalaureate degree; but in 1972 and for a few more years there were many like myself who joined the Army after having a three-year program.

PARTICIPANT: The draft was before 1972.

COL McCARTHY: Right.

PARTICIPANT: They never drafted nurses.

PARTICIPANT: No, but I mean that was the time, if they volunteered.

COL McCARTHY: Every nurse that has been in, with the exception of male nurses, has volunteered. There was some talk of putting a draft in during the Second World War. The Red Cross let the word out that if they did not get enough volunteers they would have a draft and the women did not want that. They wanted to be volunteers.

PARTICIPANT: There was a draft of male nurses at one time.

COL McCARTHY: Yes, I do not think it ever really drafted any.

PARTICIPANT: World War II.

COL McCARTHY: They were drafted in as just plain soldiers and once they got in if they made it known they were nurses --

PARTICIPANT: I was thinking about Vietnam. I was thinking there was a draft of male nurses during Vietnam.

COL McCARTHY: I think you are right but I do not think it lasted very long. We had that warrant officer program too, which was an associate degree.

PARTICIPANT: The nurses did?

COL McCARTHY: Yes.

PARTICIPANT: Oh, really. When was that?

COL McCARTHY: I cannot remember exactly but it is in this little book that I will send you. It did not work because there was not enough difference between our own 91-C, experienced technician, and the new RN from the associate degree program. The associate degree program is not focused on the same academic training. They are not bad and they serve the purpose very well of providing health care workers for local communities where they know the people and the people know them and where there are others in leadership positions.

PARTICIPANT: When you were at Schofield Barracks in Hawaii, during that time, what did they do for junior nurses to help them deal with air evac casualties? Did they have any special courses or did they just assign them on a rotating basis?

COL McCARTHY: During my stay there really were not very many who were air evacuated to Tripler. In fact I do not even remember a one. They went to Clark Air Base in the Philippines and then from there to -- what is the one in Japan, near Tokyo? Zama, that is it. From there they went to the hospital nearest their home. So we had some Hawaiian born people come but I was not there during any of the big push times.

PARTICIPANT: I would like your comment about the course, the learn-to-make-do course. I forget what number you called it.

COL McCARTHY: Yes, Nursing Arts III.

PARTICIPANT: Nursing Arts III. Do you have any thoughts on what one would include in that course these days?

COL McCARTHY: These days? Sure. There is lots of old wives experience around. How to make an icebag out of a rubber glove. How to hang up an IV bottle without an IV pole. How to make one of those folding cots have an elevated head or an elevated foot. I mean there are lots of things. A couple of

enlisted men at Fort Sam Houston made up a suction machine with a very large syringe and a pet cock valve and a five gallon jug. They would remove all the air in the five gallon jug, hitch up the suction tube to it, slowly open the pet cock and drain off whatever was needed into a five gallon jug.

There are old time things. I do not know if you were around when Wagensteen suction was in? It was a series of bottles that had a column of water that goes by, it uses the Bernoulli principle. It uses a little tube and it causes the suction. There are lots of things that they need to learn. The Civil War nurses could have taught us how to make lint for putting on bandages or how to take sheets or old rags and make them into dressings.

PARTICIPANT: Do we presently have any such courses for nurses?

PARTICIPANT: I have never heard of anything like that for anybody.

COL McCARTHY: It would be good for anybody.

PARTICIPANT: For docs we have C-3 or whatever down in San Antonio. It seems to me that in some ways nursing has as much if not more than physicians in terms of need because the issues become supply and availability of supplies, the absence of supplies, absence of facilities.

COL McCARTHY: Yes, you wonder what they are using in Sarajevo. You know, you could bring in a native practitioner. We could use some of those principles of first aid that we learned in American Red Cross first aid or whatever. Sucking chest wounds can be closed with leaves. You know, many things that we learned but never had to use, thank God, but we learned them. I do not know how you can overcome such things as biological or chemical warfare but maybe a shower curtain can be of some help. I was watching Diane Sawyer. She went down with the Marines. I said, "she's had more field experience than I have." And I served 30 years.

I am going to tell you a funny story about myself. When we were at Fort Sam in Basic they had map reading. I said, "oh, that's great. I can do good in the class."

Then they gave us new shoes and a huge big piece of fiberboard and an envelope with three coordinates and a map. Well, the destination was somebody's farm house. They took us out to Bullis and I always tell this story because it took them until 5:00 to find me. We stopped at the farm house and the lady gave us some nice tea, but it wasn't the right farm house.

PARTICIPANT: She was probably used to doing that.

COL McCARTHY: Yes, I'll bet. They didn't let on. I think those things would be of help.

PARTICIPANT: We talk about stress, which is a terrible word, but the thing that troubles people most is not being able to figure out what to do. That is what drives you up a wall, makes you lose sleep, makes you worry, makes you wonder what you are going to do tomorrow.

COL McCARTHY: Right. I came into nursing when IV's were done by the hospital. They did not come in big paste board boxes. When you were on your rotation you cleaned out the rubber tube and the bottle and put the solution in it. You put a cap on it and put it in the sterilizer. It was sent to where it was needed and went back and was reused. Needles were reused and we used to have to sharpen them. You knew that you had to do it right or the patient would tell you that there was a burr on the end of it. Those things were done because we did not have any alternative.

We just throw things away today and we do it for some good reasons including the use of the material and the drug culture. We also do it because of the spread of diseases for which we have no therapeutic cure.

PARTICIPANT: Can you give us your views on women in combat? You alluded earlier that you were in favor of that. Can you talk a little bit about that?

COL McCARTHY: I myself cannot claim to have been in combat or even close to it, but there were many who were and their little joke about back to the front really applied to some. There are all kinds of combats anyway. Certainly the women who were prisoners of war in the Philippines and the one in Europe that people do not always know about (she was in Yugoslavia, an Army Air Force nurse and managed to escape). It would be a foolish use of nurse power. If you want women to add to your manpower, if you need them to, then the Army ought to do something about making it possible.

You always hear they have no upper body strength. Well, does that gun have to weigh that much? Or do they have to carry their whole uniform allowance on their back? I bet there are plenty of fellows who would be happy to have a lighter gun. There is no earthly reason why nurses couldn't be trained to shoot the gun. They compete in the Olympics. They can ski and swim. I just think that would be where I would concentrate if I were really serious.

I do not know whether they are serious. We do not know. That is probably the truth. We have never been pressed to defend our own territory,

however there is plenty of history. You could go back and look at the women who went across the plains with the carriages. They got behind there and propped the gun up and shot it.

PARTICIPANT: You are really highlighting, I think, the issue. We are still trying to make people fit the job. Get the job so people can do it. If the job is to be able to kill people, okay, so give them something they can kill people with. If it weighs ten pounds less, so what, as long as it kills people, you have done the job.

COL McCARTHY: That is the outcome you are looking for.

PARTICIPANT: Well, the other side of it is, of course, I think a lot of people do not want to send a bunch of women who have been killed home.

COL McCARTHY: It would be very difficult. Only one casualty from enemy action occurred in Vietnam. That was a fluke accident really. It could have been anyone else. She was sitting at the nurse's desk when some kind of a round came in, knocked off a piece of wood on the desk and the wood went in and punctured her carotid artery.

Many of them, though, have succumbed to the diseases that got the rest of the people. In the First World War, they died of influenza and with dysentery. In the Civil War they had typhoid and typhus. In the Second World War there was typhus and yellow fever. Those that did not die frequently had the morbidity that went along with the particular diseases or the treatment that was given. Look at the people that got the yellow fever vaccine that did them in; it wiped out their liver function as time went on. Who is to know what is going to be the next thing.

PARTICIPANT: One of the topics that is often brought up and talked about is when women are put into units the presence of women distracts from the camaraderie, if you will, or the bonding that the men have. Do you have any comments about that?

PARTICIPANT: What about the other way around with men nurses? I mean, when men went into the Nurse Corps --

COL McCARTHY: If you look at the statistics now the proportion of men in nursing is still roughly around 3 percent in the United States. In the Army the last that I heard it was up around 32 percent. They seem to have managed to come in. It is a professional unit so there is not that same bonding business. I mean they are not ducks.

PARTICIPANT: I would like to hear your thoughts about what he was asking about.

COL McCARTHY: I think they would need to have some orientation and some leadership to overcome that. Isn't there a little bit of jealousy and so forth going on in units anyway, and infighting?

COL McCARROLL: Thank you very much.

COL McCARTHY: You are welcome. I want to leave with you something that we have worked up and I will highlight some of the things. For instance, we went through this exercise several times and I could not find some of the originals. I have moved my papers so many times that I do not know where half of them are. This came up when I was going through a file master of a nursing research advisory board. This is a distillation of what might have gone on at WRAIR before.

Under clinical studies, military nursing interests, nursing care of patients with multiple trauma, wound care, techniques of cleaning, application of heat and cold, maintenance of function, position, energy exchange, health status of women in the military -- we were very interested in that and that was one we tried to get funded -- nursing measures to control and prevent spinal headache, comparative study of illness among male and female soldiers with regard to marital status and number of dependants -- because we were always hearing about how the men never were absent.

PARTICIPANT: You should make a copy of that.

COL McCARTHY: You can have it.

PARTICIPANT: Oh, that is great.

PARTICIPANT: You said you had a book.

PARTICIPANT: If you would like to hang on to that I can get another copy.

PARTICIPANT: Thank you very much.

COL McCARTHY: Oh, you are welcome. I will be anxious to hear about what you are doing.

PARTICIPANT: We will be glad to keep you posted and send you a copy.

COL McCARTHY: Have you programmed some other younger people?

PARTICIPANT: We have tried. Thank you for your presentation.

Women and Minority Women in the Navy

Regina Akers, M.A.

Today's speaker is Ms. Regina Akers. Ms. Akers received her undergraduate degree from a local institution, Catholic University. She began her studies as a psychology major but changed to history in her senior year. This change in her major coincided with her work at the Naval History Center (where she currently is employed as an archivist). She received her master's in history from Howard University and is currently enrolled in their doctoral program. She will be speaking about women in the Navy from a non-nurse perspective.

MS. AKERS: Thank you. I am delighted to be here. Thank you for the invitation to present. My interest in women in the Navy started with college. When I changed my major to history we had to write a thesis; something we are all familiar with. Mine concerned whether World War II was a liberating experience for women or not. While the door was opened somewhat, it certainly was not made completely open to women. So began my interest in women in the Navy, specifically women in the Navy's female reserve program during World War II when it was established.

What I would like to do today is to begin by talking about the history of women in the Navy. The Navy Nurse Corps was established in 1908, six years after the Army Nurse Corps. Until World War II, they were the only women in the Navy in both wartime and peacetime, so the Navy Nurse Corps is very important. They were our first women in the Navy.

Now, historians debate whether they were the first. The reason being that women only had relative rank. They were not full standing members of the Navy until 1944 when that relative rank was converted. If you look at records dating up through 1943, late 1943, middle of 1944, you will see the director of the Nurse Corps, whose title was Superintendent of the Nurse Corps. Sue Dalson was the Superintendent of the Nurse Corps during World War II. She is the first woman in the Navy to wear four bars. She received the rank of captain once rank was actually given to Navy nurses.

We do not want to get away from the nurses, they are very important, but today I want to talk about the non-nurse Navy women; those first enlisted women. I will be starting in 1917 with World War I. I brought some information on the Center. I will be referring to it from time to time; especially concerning the Naval Historical Center, its history, and our publications.

In 1995, if you talk to a lot of women who are serving in today's Navy (and men, I might add) they do not have a real appreciation for the opportunities available to them. Some do, but many do not. It has not always been this way.

If you look at these lists of females by rank, but focus today on the one on female flag officers, (and this reflects the recent selection board) I bet if you asked any one of these women ten years ago, fifteen years ago, "would this be possible" they would have shaken their heads and said, "you must be crazy, this is not possible at all." However, this is what we have today. There are eight active duty, female admirals including two selectees. Our female captains are doing great things as well. I understand Captain Mariner was here recently and made a presentation. I am sure, years ago, she would not have imagined the things that she is doing today. A year and a half ago we put qualified women on a combat vessel, the *Eisenhower*, for the first time.

These things have happened, and it is wonderful, but they haven't just happened. It is because of the women who preceded them that this is possible today. It also reflects on the leadership of the nation and certainly of the Navy that these opportunities are available today. It is also quite a compliment to the women themselves and those who did precede them because they have proven their worth. We are still asking questions about their worth and what they can do, particularly in combat. However, there are a lot of questions we no longer need answer anymore, which is good. We have come some way but it hasn't always been that way.

In 1917, there was a shortage of clerical workers in the Navy, particularly in the Washington, D.C. area. The Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels, aware of the need asked, "is there any legal reason why we cannot recruit women?" The Navy Reserve Act in 1916 stated that any citizen of the United States could serve in the Naval Reserve.

Sometimes technicalities help women and it did in that case because he said, "fine, let's recruit them." They had standard recruitment campaigns, set up recruitment offices for women and women were hired on the spot, going right into the Navy that day. It was some time before the uniforms came about, but they went right into the Navy and they served. Approximately 11,275 women served in this time; a large number in the Washington area and within the continental United States. Several women, less than 100, served abroad in various capacities, and not just doing clerical types of duties. They were also cryptologists, translators, stenographers; what we today consider stereotypical, but you have to remember those were male professions back then. The women were breaking some barriers.

They were recruited because they were needed. I am sure you ladies who are in here and are military would agree with me, that the Navy's needs, or any service's needs, drive the policy. If the need is there then they have to come up with a way to meet it. They might assemble a committee or establish a committee to find out the best way to do that, but you are responding to a need; not necessarily just because you thought it was a really neat idea to have women in the Navy.

There is also a reality. Whenever we have a war, men are the first to go. This is true, typically, up until recent times. Thus, your largest available pool of labor is inevitably women. In this case, however, they did not just want women in general as we will see with World War II. Rather, they wanted women for specific purposes and duties, primarily clerical duties of all types. That is what they did.

Secretary Daniels' Our Navy At War, a report on the Navy in World War I, pays the women in the Navy a very high compliment and talks about how the Navy could not have survived without these "Yeomen (F.)." This was not an organized program, as we will see with World War II. This was basically meeting a need and finding someone to meet that need; swearing them in and sending them to work.

They entered in 1917 and you will find on the roles, "Yeomen (F.)" still registered up to 1921 and 1922 receiving two dollars and some cents a month. They were retained after the war because certain functions were still needed. You just cannot drop off your woman power, in this case, when the war is over. There are things that have to be done to provide for that transitional period.

After World War I, personnel were no longer needed in the same amount. A lot of the command officers deemed in their own minds that women would never be needed again so they gave out dishonorable discharges. As the word spread about this the women were naturally upset about it. The members of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee were upset about it, too. There was no justification.

Now, as you know, it is very important to have an honorable discharge if you are going to have any kind of a life when you get out of the military. But this was the mentality that was in place. This was the Navy that they were serving in.

DR. URSANO: When was this?

MS. AKERS: This is during World War I; after World War I.

DR. URSANO: Was it that that was the most expeditious way to get them out or something else?

MS. AKERS: This was not so much expeditiousness, but the mental attitude that was in place. The women came, they served, they let them go. Some commanding officers decided to let them go, but not give them honorable discharges; whether they were warranted or not. It is reflective of the attitude that was in place. The other part of it is, "just how useful are women?" I mean, does it really matter? If you can put yourself back in that framework, does it really matter what kind of discharge they get? After all, "they are just women, and they will not be needed again."

DR. TEITELBAUM: Yes, but you have to do something to get a dishonorable discharge.

MS. AKERS: You should have to do something. These women discovered that you don't.

DR. GABBAY: I was just wondering if this had any implications for pensions. Did they then avoid having to pay these women pensions?

MS. AKERS: That wasn't what they were thinking about so much. The idea was more in the line of what they thought women had contributed and what potential they had to contribute in the future. Naturally, women had a difficult time understanding, "why?"

DR. TEITELBAUM: This is just a general discharge or an actual penal action?

MS. AKERS: A dishonorable discharge.

DR. TEITELBAUM: Large numbers?

MS. AKERS: Well, significant numbers. Enough so that women started talking to women and --

DR. TEITELBAUM: How many?

MS. AKERS: I do not know the exact number of dishonorables that were given but it caused hearings before the Senate Naval Affairs Committee in which the Yeomen (F.) testified. You can look in the Congressional Action records and see those testimonies. Members of the Navy also testified on behalf of the women.

At the same time, as you may know, the Victory medal was given out to World War I veterans. They said that women did not earn that. They did not need to get it because they were women. This was the mentality of the establishment that was in place, and not just in the Navy, mind you, but in society at large.

There was first an action on the Hill after World War I to change these dishonorable discharges to honorable ones and then to give them not only the

Victory medal but any other medal that they might have deserved; especially for those who served abroad. Also, a significant number of women died during the flu epidemic. There were no combat-related casualties of women in the Nurse Corps or elsewhere during World War I. You will see that term, Yeoman (F.) with F in parentheses because these females were receiving orders for ships. It designated that this was indeed a woman in the rank of yeoman.

LTC NORWOOD: Actually, I am glad you clarified it. I thought people kept calling them Yeomanettes.

MS. AKERS: That is one of their nicknames, Yeomanettes. Just one of them; one of the nicer ones, I might add. That was their official designation, Yeoman with capital "F." in parentheses.

After the war, the discharges were changed. They were given the medal. Soon after this, in 1925, that same Naval Reserve Act of 1916 that we talked about earlier was rewritten to read that any male citizen of the United States could serve in the reserves. I do not need to tell you what happened when Pearl Harbor was bombed. In essence the Navy had to create a program for women in the Navy because between 1921 and 1941, the only women in the Navy were our Navy nurses, who, again, were not really in the Navy. They had relative rank.

DR. URSANO: The regulation that you are describing, did that affect all the other services as well or was this a Navy-specific one?

MS. AKERS: No, this was Navy-specific. We also had women Marines in World War I, I did not mention that. I think there were about 300 of them. We even had women in the Army. They were still trying to decide whether they wanted women for the same purposes when the war was over.

DR. URSANO: So was the Navy the first service to have women on active duty?

MS. AKERS: Not if you go with the technical definition that the first women in the military were nurses. The Army Nurse Corps was established in 1902, the Navy Nurse Corps in 1908. The Army would still be the first to have women in its service.

DR. URSANO: This issue of the Yeomanette brings in a whole category other than nurses?

MS. AKERS: Exactly.

DR. URSANO: That began in World War I?

MS. AKERS: That is right, 1917. On March 12, the first woman was sworn into the Navy to serve as a Yeomanette. Her name was Loretta Perfectus Walsh. That is one of the few firsts we can distinguish, by the way.

DR. URSANO: Is she still alive?

MS. AKERS: No, but it is interesting that you should ask. Her family members have visited our Center and other places in Washington doing research. The last time I talked with her nephew he had a 200 page manuscript. He is writing a book about the aunt's service and women in World War I, which I am glad to see. Also there is a movement to have a memorial created for her in her home state of Pennsylvania. I do not know whether that is going to happen or not, but her family wants to preserve the memory of her as the first Yeomanette.

Long before Pearl Harbor was bombed there were questions about whether the military would make use of women. Those questions came from an influential member of Congress by the name of Edith Norse Rogers from Maine. She had proposed and co-written the bill which created the Women's Army Corps in May of 1942. The Army agreed to have women in the service but as an auxiliary to the regular Army. Hence their name was Women's Army Auxiliary Corps. When she went to the Navy and asked Navy leaders if they would consider the same thing, the Navy leaders decided that it might be a good idea, but that they needed to study how to utilize women. They surveyed the different Naval commands throughout the country from one naval district to another to find out just what we would do if we had women on hand. What kinds of jobs could they do? Interestingly, the most positive responses came from the aviation community and the communications community.

The Secretary of the Navy at that time was Frank Knox. He said if we are going to hire women in the Navy they will be in the Navy, because then we will control them. If we want them to do certain kinds of duties, especially intelligence oriented things, it's better to have them in the Navy. You would not want them to be an auxiliary to the Navy. Well, this debate went on for some time, but finally the Navy's Female Reserve Program was created on 30 June 1942. President Roosevelt signed Public Law 625 creating the Women's Reserve Program for the Navy.

Keep in mind, had that act not been rewritten in 1925, we would not have had to go through all this to create a program for women in the Navy. We could have responded with all available resources to the emergency sooner than we did.

Initially they put a cap on this of 10,000 WAVES. The acronym, WAVES stands for "Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Services." That name was carefully picked by Elizabeth Raynard. When the Navy decided to have

a program for women in the Navy, they established a committee to build this program, to design it. They had a whole committee largely of women.

The idea was, if it works, that is good, but if it does not work, who designed it? Understand the attitude, a lot of these things are not necessarily going to be expressed. The Congressional record is wonderful to give you a sense of the attitude that was there. David Welch on the Senate Naval Affairs Committee said, "well, if women are in the Navy, homes are going to fall apart." He went on and on knowing that if you had a dependent you could not qualify for service the way the legislation was written up. There were apprehensions about whether we should, in fact, have women in the Navy; especially *in* the Navy. The Navy's Female Reserve Program was the only one to be established as an integral part of its reserve program. If you look at the WAC's (Women's Army Corps) and the earlier ranks that they had, they were called First officers, Second officers. They did not have regular ranks initially, nor regular pay. However, that was changed a year later when the WAAC, the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps, was converted to the Women's Army Corps.

The WAVES were established on 30 June 1942. The program needed a director. Mildred McAfee, who was president of Wellesley College, was selected. The committee that created the WAVES program was called the Naval Educational Advisory Council. It was reflective of its members. They picked women, presidents of colleges usually, from prestigious schools all over the country. Of course, there was a Navy officer in charge of the committee. It was the women themselves who created the program for the women in the Navy, and proposed it to the Secretary of the Navy.

Elizabeth Raynard, again, was a member of that group as was another woman, Virginia Gildersleeve. She wrote, Many A Good Crusade. She has an excellent chapter about what it was like to deal with the military. Keep in mind that these are civilians who are asked to develop a program for a military organization. They do not know the military but they are brought on because of their experience with women. They basically were left on their own to do this. Every time they would reach a major issue it would have to go through the approval of the officer assigned to them. They did this and they created this program and it was accepted.

They picked a nautical nickname, which did not reflect what women were doing in the Navy. Think about that name, Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service. That is, we are not forcing women to serve; this is temporary. It is just for the emergency. They were to serve for the duration plus six months. That was very clear in the legislation.

In that same legislation were many restrictions. We do not really have time to talk about them today, such as limitation on rank and on duty

assignment. They could not serve outside the continental United States until 1944 responding to a need to relieve men in Hawaii and Alaska. Women had wanted to go abroad for some time. The WAC's had been sent abroad but not Navy women.

The program grew. Women were trained at Smith College in Northampton and the WAVES initially followed the practice of the Navy in general. They used schools and universities to train men. Initially they had women at schools around the country to do duty specific jobs like storekeeper. That was in response to Navy officials saying, "these are our three chief needs and this is what I want you to meet." You may have heard of Hunter Naval Training Station in New York at Hunter College. The governor of New York basically gave that school to the women's program. That became the enlisted training center for women in the Navy during World War II. The officers continued their training, of course, at Smith.

By the war's end we had women serving in both traditional and non-traditional billets; traditional as in stenographer, chauffeur, baker, and in the hospital corps. You also had them in non-traditional billets like link trainer. A significant number of the WAVES served in the aviation community, in communications and in intelligence. You remember those were the same three communities that responded most positively to the inquiry of whether we should have women in the Navy at all.

Mildred McAfee was sworn in on 2 August 1942 and became the first female officer in the Navy; again, reflecting the fact that Navy nurses were in a different administrative status at that time. In 1944 that changed for the nurses.

WAVES served at Naval shore establishments throughout the country and after 1944 in both Alaska and Hawaii. They served in a variety of positions such as those I described to you. They discovered that the WAVES were working out well, although you may remember, or certainly know, that the first six to eight months of the war did not go well. There was much loss of life before Midway and Coral Sea. Consequently, the need for women was greater than even the Navy imagined. The Navy also did not foresee the competence of these women; that they had something to offer. Of the first women that served, both enlisted candidates and officers, several came in with more than two degrees. Usually they had some college, although the requirement was that you could have had no college and two years experience, be age 20, have no dependents, have character references and things like that. These were the creme de la creme and would eventually form a corps of women who would serve in the WAVES. They were 86,000 WAVES including 2,000 officers.

Initially, unlike their sister service, the Women's Army Corps, the Navy did not accept black women into its service, its reserve program or its nurse corps for that matter. That changed in October of 1944. The Navy decided to admit blacks into its Female Reserve Program due to a number of factors including

political pressure from organizations such as the NAACP, the National Urban League, several sororities, and several religious organizations. The question became, should the Navy follow the precedent of segregation of black men in dealing with black women? It did not make sense to the Navy to segregate them. The announcement was made on 19 October 1944 that blacks would be admitted into the women's reserve program, but the first two were not sworn in until 13 November 1944. They became the only two black officers during the war, Harriet Ida Pickens and Francis E. Wills. Pickens has died but Wills is still very much alive and has excellent recall. I visited with her on several occasions. If you talk to her she will say it was nothing big. Fifty years later, however, it is something big.

Anyway, those two would be the only black WAVES officers during the war; we eventually had 72 enlisted black women. After these two women were sworn in they were added to the last class to be trained at Smith. They entered the program late but they both finished. After that, the enlisted women were sent to Hunter for training. By 30 July 1945 we had 72 black WAVES; two officers, and 70 enlisted among the 86,000. We are talking about less than 1%. You can talk to many WAVES and they will tell you there were no blacks. It is understandable, when would they have seen them?

DR. URSANO: Are we making the distinction that it was an integrated corps in the Navy versus in the Army even though it was a very small number?

MS. AKERS: No, I am not. When I made that distinction it was between how the program was created. The Women's Army Auxiliary Corps was created as an auxiliary to the Army. The WAVES program was created as an integral part of the Navy.

DR. URSANO: No, no. I mean black women in the WAVES versus black women in the WAC's.

MS. AKERS: The WAC accepted blacks as early as their inception. When that first group of officers was trained in August of 1942 at Fort Des Moines, they were welcomed but the black recruits were segregated for much of the war on many levels.

As the war progressed, other things were not so much segregated, but certainly earlier on they were treated as a separate unit. That was reflective of how black males were treated in the military and reflective of our Jim Crow society at the time, separate but equal. You have to remember that the military is a segment of society and a lot of policies in the military usually reflect societal standards. However, the military has also proven capable of leading the nation in

change. After all, the services were integrated before Brown vs. the Board of Education.

DR. TEITELBAUM: When did they integrate?

MS. AKERS: It occurred in 1948, during the Truman Administration, under the Armed Forces Integration Act. The WAVES went on to serve. To give you some context, there were also 100,000 WAC's. Also, in November the Coast Guard established a women's reserve program. Their nickname was SPARS, *semper paratis*. The translation was "always ready," which was their motto. They were commonly called SPARS. In February of 1943, the Marines created a program for women. They did not have a nickname that they accepted. There were 11,000 of them.

There were approximately 325,000 women in the military during World War II. Before the war was over and because of the services that these women provided, senior leaders like Eisenhower and Chester Nimitz, Commander in Chief of the Pacific, were suggesting that women should have a permanent place in the military because they had performed so well. They were also well aware of all that had taken place to create the programs. It did not make sense to go through another startup program like this should another conflict occur. Thus, even before the war was over, women had more than proven their worth to the military. Some of the WAVES were able to do things that three or four men were doing before.

The early WAVES and WAC's were responsible for the opportunities that women had in the post war period; even in the immediate post war period where there was massive demobilization. A small number of WAVES were kept on board as was true for the WAC's and the other services. After the war, during the Truman Administration (it was an election year which I am sure had something to do with it) two very important pieces of legislation were passed, the Women's Armed Forces Act and the Integration Act of 1948. The Integration Act integrated the services racially, and the Women's Armed Services Act gave women a permanent place in the military with some restrictions.

One restriction we have talked about recently is combat exclusion. There were definite restrictions on what women could do. The notion in the Navy was that women could not comprise any more than 2% of the total number of military personnel. This remained until the 1970's. However, women did have a permanent place in the military. During the Korean conflict, the emphasis was often on our nurses and on what they did on hospital ships and at base hospitals.

There were many WAVES that provided support both here and there for the war effort in many capacities. There were more billets, different types of billets available, and different job opportunities available to women in this period than had been before. However, it is important to keep in mind that there were now 3,000 Navy women compared to the 86,000 during World War II. We did not see a buildup of numbers really until the Vietnam War. Our next massive buildup of women in the Navy occurred in response to that war. There, too, the emphasis was

placed on women in the Navy Nurse Corps. Women in general were making strides and making a difference and hoping for advanced opportunities.

The "Women in Ships" program was first initiated when the buildup started during Johnson's Administration, 1965 - 1967. That is not a new idea. As women proved their worth, someone was thinking, what might we do? Now we are sitting here almost 30 years later still talking about women in ships and the problems that women are having. That is not a new idea today. Most people do not realize that it dates back to that period.

Women continued to serve. In the late 1960's legislation was passed in Congress for approval for women to be appointed to flag rank. The first woman to reach this rank was not until 1972 when Alene Duerk was appointed to flag rank. At that time she was director of the Navy Nurse Corps.

DR. URSANO: How long did the term WAVES last, when did that go away?

MS. AKERS: It was the same year. Robin Quigley was director of the WAVES. Her official title was Assistant Chief of Naval Personnel for Women. Robin Quigley held that title, as did the other WAVE directors, but they were known as WAVE directors. She marched into the office of the Chief of Naval Personnel, and politely asked, "why do I have a job? The title does not even apply, since we are Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Services.". She argued that they should be referred to as Women in the Navy. She wrote a memo on 23 February 1972 indicating just that; that we would no longer use the term WAVES to refer to women in the Navy. They would be women in the Navy. She also in essence abolished her own position.

Today we have what is called the Office of Women's History at the Pentagon. Usually a captain holds that position and has a staff. There have been mostly female captains holding that position. That person serves as an advisor to the Chief of Naval Operations for Women's Affairs.

DR. TEITELBAUM: I wonder if you could tell us the type of issues that came up then with women on ships as well as women in the military service and pregnancy. What were the policies back then?

MS. AKERS: Until the 1970's, as you may know, you could not be pregnant and in the military. You took one or the other. Once you reported a pregnancy, of course, you were given an honorable discharge. I think that changed around the same time, 1972 or 1973 but it was not the same for all the services. In 1975 we went all volunteer. In 1976, the service academies opened up to women. Before then, women could not go through Naval ROTC. The seventies were a critical period of change for women.

DR. TEITELBAUM: When were women allowed to have dependents?

MS. AKERS: I think that was either 1972 or 1973. I do not remember the year but the legislation was changed to allow them to have dependents. That is, they no longer had to leave the service because they became pregnant or had dependents.

DR. TEITELBAUM: That came at the same time as allowing for pregnancy?

MS. AKERS: Right. If a WAVE was married (later on in the war they were allowed to marry) her husband could not be considered a dependent. Whereas a man marrying in the military could have his wife classified as a dependent. Again, it speaks to the attitude that was in place at the time.

Today's military woman is facing challenges that I do not think are all that different necessarily from what the women in the past have faced. They are still in a predominantly male organization that has predominantly male leadership. Certainly there are female leaders in the military, you have seen this list of flag officers, but I am talking about the policy makers or women who have some influence on the policy makers or the policy that is proposed. We are far from that.

We are not there yet. I think a woman's perspective is not as much appreciated if there isn't a woman there to give some input. There are still officers who would rather not have women under their command, and they do not hide it at all. There are still officers who would rather not deal with women at all. They are hung up on stereotypes.

Things have changed such as combat exclusion, which was repealed. It was repealed and it wasn't. We were talking about that earlier. While it was supposedly repealed, the authority is still very much at the discretion of the Secretary of the service. In our case it has been good for women, especially in the aviation community which also opened up to women in the 1972 to 1976 time period. There were many more expanded opportunities for women in aviation.

What women have been able to do in the last 20 years is phenomenal. When you think that it is just 20 years since the door opened, it is remarkable to have the likes of an officer of the caliber of Captain Mariner and others. It is just phenomenal what they could do in 20 years. I think part of the reason for that change is that there are different attitudes. Leadership reflects the policies that are set.

If you look at the leadership of all the services (we were not DoD {Department of Defense} then, but War Department), you find that those were veterans of World War I or maybe the Spanish American War. If we look at the Korean conflict we are seeing World War II veterans. When we come to Vietnam, for instance, you are still looking at Korean War veterans; you are still looking at the fifties mentality, if you will. But look at today. Look at our current Chief of Naval Operations. He is a man with different outlooks. He is the youngest CNO the navy has ever had. He came through a different period and started out enlisted. That in itself is phenomenal if you look at his career. He brings a whole different perspective to that position. He reminds me to some extent of Admiral Zumwalt. He believed each individual had something to contribute. Some needed more pull or more push than others but each person had some contribution to make.

I should have mentioned Z Grams earlier. You have in your packet a copy of Z Gram 116. Z Grams are literally directives saying, "this is what I want you to do and this is how to do it." They are directives. I have given you a copy of this one, of course, because it pertains to women. This statement, (I hope you will have time to look at it) gave women expanded opportunities to serve. It began to make the Navy a more equal place, a more comfortable place for women to serve in terms of equal opportunities. Admiral Zumwalt was well before his time with things that he was doing.

He has another Z gram, 66, that applies to blacks with the same idea of more equal opportunity. If you are interested and want to look further at women and blacks or minorities in general during his tenure (you know there were some tumultuous times for the Navy during that time including the *Kittyhawk* and *Constellation* racial incidents) he has a book that I have put on your bibliography called On Watch. It is a memoir of his tenure as CNO. It is very clear and very frank about what happened, how he responded to it and why he responded in that way, not just to the racial incidents but in terms of women's status. Admiral Bobbi Hazard, Roberta Hazard, worked with him quite closely and she and others, Fran McKee, the first female line officer to make flag rank and others helped to put this together with the Admiral's blessing.

If you had to pick people who were movers and shakers in the history of women in the Navy - and maybe I will conclude this portion that way - you would have to talk about people like Joy Hancock. She was a Yeomanette and a trained pilot. She served and worked in the Bureau of Aeronautics between World War I and World War II. She was one of the first WAVE officers commissioned during World War II and was director of the WAVES during the Korean War. She was the first woman to serve on the Secretary of the Navy's Advisory Committee. She wrote a book, Lady in the Navy which is on your

bibliography in which she recounts her experiences in the Navy. She was widowed three times by Navy aviators. She had quite a lot of tragedy in her life.

McAfee as the director of the WAVES is another key player. I mentioned to you that core group of officers that were first commissioned, those female officers. Many of them went on to do terrific things. Another WAVE Director, Captain Winifred Quick Collins, was one of those officers. We are not just talking about women who served and got out, a significant number of these women went on to contribute to the Navy and to have successful careers.

One more thing. I did not get a chance to copy this, but you may want to write the citation down. It is a Washington Post article, 22 September 1992, B1. It is entitled, "Women's Navy Blues; Don't Rock the Boat." I will pass that around. It is an interview talking directly with women serving on ships to assess how they are doing. Of course some were a little apprehensive because they did not know how this might affect their life on that ship. The reporter leaves but they stay. It gives you some idea, at least for the women that they interviewed, what it was like to be on the ship.

Interestingly enough, once women are there, they are accepted by most, but there are still a few that are very reluctant to have them there. There are some who perceive that when women are assigned to a unit, the unit's efficiency rate is going to go down. They feel that women will not add to the unit but somehow subtract from the unit. It is also very clear from the article that there are women on there who are quite free with themselves and there are those who are not. There are women on board who know how to get around the rules and there are those who do not; much like the men they serve with, I might add, but nobody bothers to say that often. It is a good article and this person spent some time on the ship talking and I had hoped to Xerox that before I left but I did not.

What are women facing today? I think as we look to the completion of this decade and into the next century, they are facing tremendous challenges. The biggest one is serving as a minority in a downsizing Navy. Before we downsize, let's think of the buildup during the Reagan Administration, his two terms in office. If women then had a 30% chance of high promotion, and that is if all their ducks are in a row, in a smaller community then, that percentage is greatly diminished.

Today we do not have, for instance, a black female admiral. Some people will say, "well, you know, it is a race thing." I do not buy it. You just don't make flag rank because you want to make it. You have to do things to make that happen. A lot of it is being in the right place at the right time. Some of them do not fall quite there within the selection area or they get bounced by somebody else, or they have not had quite the right duties. They are competing against men

who have combat service. It is not easy for females to make flag rank. It is not easy for anyone to make it in today's Navy because the Navy is getting much smaller. When you have a small Navy you do not need as many admirals and captains. We have, I think, 237 ships in today's Navy compared to the five hundred and some that we had under the Reagan Administration. There are not as many opportunities and there are not as many places to put them even if you want to promote them. You just don't promote an admiral. You have to find a place to put that admiral. So there are fewer opportunities for women today in the Navy, not because of the women themselves, but because they are in a downsizing environment and there are fewer opportunities for everyone.

Another challenge I see facing women today, in addition to downsizing, I should say because of the downsizing is that competition is much, much more severe. There might be two women out of 100 all going up for one position. Looking at their credentials you can see the odds are small that a woman is going to make it. It is not that she is not good or anything. It is just that numbers are real and that is a problem for the women.

The other problem is, because women are making advances and doing things and we have the Women in Ships program, women can no longer think, "I am going to sit behind this desk and I am going to do all the right things and I will take this command." You have to do shore rotations just like that fellow not sitting far from you. That is a problem. Because whether we like it or not, and even though there are expanded opportunities for women in the military today and particularly in the Navy, women still have that role of caretaker and provider. That has not changed. If that woman is deployed, when you talk to some of them, it was not the husband who made the arrangements. She made all the arrangements before her deployment began. She still bears the burden of family when away from home six months to eighteen months depending on which ship she is on and where she is going. That, I see as a challenge. Men can do lots of things but they cannot have children. As long as we have that I think that is going to be a problem for women.

DR. TEITELBAUM: What are the regulations that anyone needs to meet if they are a parent of a dependent or a woman that is a parent when they go off on a ship?

MS. AKERS: Well, in addition to the normal things such as having an up-to-date will, you have to show the Navy that you have made arrangements for dependent care and that has to be documented. If you are married it is assumed that your husband is doing this. However, we have many single parents in the Navy just like in society.

DR. TEITELBAUM: Just like you have in society; that many?

MS. AKERS: Absolutely. So consequently if I am going, let's say I am being deployed and I am a single parent --

DR. TEITELBAUM: What is the percentage of single parent females in the Navy?

MS. AKERS: I do not know the exact number but during the Gulf War this issue came up about single parents and interestingly enough it did not come up for the females --

LTC NORWOOD: I am sorry. We are time-bound and have to give up the room. Perhaps we could all thank you now and maybe catch you in the hallway for a few questions?

MS. AKERS: Okay.

LTC NORWOOD: Thank you for a wonderful presentation.

An Historian's Perspective of Stress in Military Women

Linda Grant DePauw, Ph.D.

Our speaker today is Linda Grant DePauw. She has created a quarterly report on women and the military which she edits and publishes. Dr. DePauw has also published a number of articles on the anti-climax of anti-federalism, the forgotten spirit of '76 and women in combat, the Revolutionary War experience, and a number of articles in women's journals. She is a Professor of American History at George Washington University. Dr. DePauw also teaches advanced lecture courses and directs graduate studies in early American history, military history and women's history. Among numerous other contributions, she has been the Director of the First Federal Congress Project which is producing the multi-volume documentary history of the First Federal Congress. She is the Chair of the project's Board of Advisors.

Introductions

DR. FULLERTON: I am Carol Fullerton. I am on the faculty in the Psychiatry Department and I am a research psychologist interested in trauma and stress.

DR. SLUSARCICK: I am Anita Slusarcick. I am a psychologist with the Department of Psychiatry here at the University.

DR. URSANO: I am Bob Ursano, psychiatrist and Chairman of the Psychiatry Department here at the School of Medicine.

DR. MARLOWE: I am David Marlowe. I am Chief of the Department of Military Psychiatry at the Walter Reed Army Institute of Research. I am an anthropologist.

LTC KNUDSON: I am Kathy Knudson. I am a research psychologist at Buckner Military Psychiatry. I would just like to add that I have been getting Minerva for many years and it is really good to meet you in person.

MAJ FRIEDL: I am Carl Friedl. I am a research physiologist. My wife gets Minerva. She has been getting it for several years. I am involved with the Defense Women's Health Research Program. I am the staff officer and I work with Colonel Gifford.

COL GIFFORD: I am Bob Gifford. I am a research psychologist at the headquarters of Medical Research and Material Command and work with the Defense Women's Health Research Program and other operational medicine research.

DR. ROSEN: I am Leora Rosen. I am also with the Walter Reed Army Institute of Research and I am a research social scientist doing work on women in the military.

DR. WRIGHT: I am Kathy Wright. I am with the Department of Military Psychiatry at WRAIR and I am a research psychologist.

DR. TEITELBAUM: I am Joel Teitelbaum. I work at WRAIR also. I am probably the only one here who hasn't seen Minerva.

DR. URSANO: We are interested in anything that you would like to tell us. Our particular focus is, number one, on health issues, and number two, on the effects of stress, trauma and combat in women. In fact, the issue of women in the military broadly relates to that topic, from history to the present. Your name came to us as someone it would be worthwhile for us to hear. We are interested about how you think, what you think about, and what you do.

DR. DEPAUW: I have three categories to discuss here. I have military, stress and women. This is the first time combat was mentioned specifically, but that falls within the military category. You have variables here. I teach military history, women's history, and the combination. I suppose that makes me unique, academically. George Washington University has the only doctoral level program training people in women's military history. The Minerva Center is the only journal devoted extensively and exclusively to the interdisciplinary material and primary source material that is developed in this field.

I have a forthcoming book called Battle Cries and Lullabies: A Brief History of Women in War which is a book that I produced prematurely because one usually doesn't do a survey of a millennia of history before there are any monographs. However, it seemed that I had to go first, because until there is the survey, people don't know what the topics are.

Speaking to the social scientists here, it is amazing what is barren. There is no history of military nursing. There are some small studies concentrating on the Army Nurse Corps or the Navy Nurse Corps. There are studies of military medicine which, when it comes to bed pans and keeping patients clean, are lacking in focus. Yet, this is where most women have contributed, certainly in the early American military, and where the greatest stress is. It has been pointed out that in the hospitals is where the death rate was highest. That is why soldiers try to stay out of military hospitals, traditionally.

I was trying to help a doctoral student get a statistic on the number of Union Army women nurse casualties in the Civil War, and can't get it. She came up with some source that said 20, which is just incredibly low; we lost more than that in World War II.

The book that I have now is slowly on its way to a New York publisher. I originally contracted with a popular press. After 18 months went by, I was working with an editor who allowed how she had never heard of Molly Pitcher

and that my references to Dunkirk were obscure. I took advantage of the clause in the contract, and I am now negotiating with Oxford University Press. This means you can push my buttons and I am likely to cite anything at you from the age of Alexander the Great on.

I realized as I came here today that I have not kept up to date with Bulletin Board. This has been a busy time of year. There was a major conference at the National Archives on women veterans of World War II and I have more graduate students than usual. At the moment, I have a large rush basket full of the back issues of Army, Navy, and Air Force Times and Early Bird that I have not come up with. If you ask me about something that happened last week, you will have to fill me in on that, because I am now four months behind the times.

DR. MARLOWE: I wonder if there wouldn't be a great value to spend a few minutes on an overview in a very general but real sense of the experience of women in the military? I know there is a very strange view that women being attached to armies is something new. We forget that the support systems, once called camp followers, were well known to the Macedonians, the Romans, the Babylonians and everyone else. I think it would be very helpful if you started there and went ahead.

DR. DEPAUW: Okay. This is going to be fun, because this is like defending a thesis. I begin my book at 6500 BC, which is the first archeological evidence of what could be defined as war. Roughly, the way I define it, war is the practice of human beings hunting other human beings as if they were animals; that is, conflict between animals is what we need to keep alive.

I am not saying that before 6500 BC everybody was angelic, that it was all sweetness and light and nobody yelled at each other or even that they didn't have fist fights. In 6500 BC, there was a burial site in what is now Saudi Arabia with ceremonial burials of people who all died because they had arrowheads stuck in them. This is not accidental death. It is about half men, half women and a number of children. The most seriously wounded is a female, who had the largest number of fragments embedded in her remains and seems to have had six or seven shots directly into her mouth. My thought is she died screaming.

We do not have any other archeological evidence of war for several thousand years. Really, war is a cultural construct. It took quite a while for the human species to invent war. They invented religion, music, and indoor plumbing first. This notion of fighting other peoples as a group, as something that is socially sanctioned, is really quite new in our history.

Military history, as it has been traditionally written, comes out of Neolithic ceremonial roots, where a girl becomes a woman. It is very obvious she has become a woman. She begins her monthly periods, which to primitive people, are very magical. It is the wound that bleeds and doesn't kill; that life comes out of

women's bodies. If you are looking at something that has a lot of thrill for a religious ritual, a little girl doesn't have to do anything except survive and suddenly she has these magical stigmata.

That means if you are concerned in a society with gender distinctions, as human societies tend to be, then the group that does not menstruate needs a distinguishing feature. Thus, we have many male puberty rites that are very closely allied to war. They may be games. They may even involve ritual killing, but that seems to be where it comes from, originally.

There is a good reason for gender distinctions because having a girl showing up to do this on top of menstruating would be like having the boys in a menstrual hut. The things that the boys are learning to do are to make them different from the girls. What the girls are going to do is represent life. That has been settled biologically. Not that all of them are fertile, not that all of them will have children, but the clear thing is, no boy will ever do this.

In the tradition of balance that most Stone Age cultures seem to want in their rituals, women are life, men are death. They kill something. Often they also do some self mutilation to make themselves bleed from the genitals but that is something different. However, this is where it starts.

The ritual of war still has elements of this male bonding, of how to become a man. It also has elements of religion including ceremony, fancy dress, and dance. We might like to say in our sophisticated time, when we can flatten large areas of this planet, that thinking of war as a game or some kind of ritual is wrong; that we shouldn't have wars. The point is that we have had those rituals for a very long time. The ritual might metamorphose into something else. For instance, the Red Cross has many activities that involve exposure to danger, death, risking life, obedience to a hierarchy, and deploying in an orderly manner, that could subsume what armies now do.

The written history, once you can stop looking at graves, begins basically with the Greeks, who told stories of heroes. To examine the earliest history of women in war, you look at archeological digs and certain extrapolations from anthropology in which you do find women involved in the proto-war activities. The puberty rite itself is purely ceremonial, but suppose the tribe hunts. There is no Stone Age tribe in which that is exclusively male. Unless you are going after something like rabbits, it is a group operation. Women and children go and beat the bush to raise the hairy mammoth or whatever it is. Women and children are also involved in gathering, which is providing for the food supplies.

The early texts include the Greek historians like Herodotus and Xenophon. They include all traditions such as those in Homer. It is a problem for me, a historian of the 18th century and on, to deal with the kinds of historical sources that ancient historians deal with. I like to have photographs, videotapes,

and eye witness accounts written down. You don't have that in the early period. Homer and The Iliad could have been pure fantasy or delusion. Ancient historians usually consider that work as giving clues to the nature of early warfare.

Where are the women? First of all, a woman starts the war. She is the inspiration. When Helen is snatched, that is what causes the war.

DR. TEITELBAUM: How about as prizes?

DR. DEPAUW: Woman as victim is the second role. You know, I don't have my notes here so I am not doing this in an orderly way, but the idea of woman as victim is the place in the puberty rite for women. You can't have war unless you have victims. The men are heroes and the women are victims, and of course the good guys are trying to defend their potential victims.

That is the one that is best known. In fact, feminist analysis, which has become extremely unscientific and sexist in the last 10 or 15 years, often starts with the idea that women are basically different from men; women have suffered from wars, they have never fought wars. That is hogwash. Women have fought wars, but it is easiest to remember them as victims.

They are victims and they are inspiration. They do what I guess you would have to call logistical support. In Homer, you don't see the women, generally, except one of the heroes wives is always giving him strategic advice which, when he ignores it, is disastrous. The hero dies and it is a woman who comes in and lays out the body.

One assumes that if they are there to lay out the body and to make occasional recommendations on strategy, they were there the rest of the time; probably doing the kind of work connected to laying out bodies including trying to keep the people from dying once they had been wounded. This kind of nursing work is under the covers of history. You only know it must have been there because somebody who has not had basic nursing will die quickly as opposed to suffering the lingering deaths that are so often apparent in medical history.

Camp follower is the word that is usually used for logistic apparatus. It has become, and has long been, a word that has tremendously negative connotations. USO (United Service Organization) and Red Cross workers have still had the problem of appearing places and being assumed to be there to amuse the troops. The merging of the sex worker role with all women's work is easy to do with the woman as victim.

The first thing is, "if there is a dead woman on the battlefield, she is a victim." The second is, "if there is a woman in the army camps, she is a whore." Whatever else may have been done, it is subsumed there. That means that when you are working with historical sources you have to dig at them, because not everybody who is called a whore is one.

First of all, most camp followers were men. This dependence train supplied all the food except the basic ration. They did not have to work in formation. They ran on ahead and set up a camp. They kept the camp clean. They dug ditches and fortifications. They were separate from the military men, although they intermingled. There are drawings from the 17th and 18th century showing an army on the march with the soldiers carrying their weapons. Then there are these women with 75-pound packs on their backs full of pots, pans, spare clothing and a couple of children dangling off of them. That is what camp following is.

The military family connects with this. In societies which are not militarist, the whole military community becomes a sort of pariah, which means that no woman would marry a soldier unless her daddy was one. In our society, nobody has actually done a study of this. It surprises me how many people who join the military were military children. From anecdotal evidence, I think it is very high.

There were other societies where the whole tribe was nomadic, which meant all the adults fought. War first appears with nomads. The illiterate horse people of the Steppe seem to have invented the idea of hunting their own kind. That then comes south into Asia Minor and the "civilized" people learned how to do it from them.

DR. MARLOWE: Can I just interrupt here?

DR. DEPAUW: Sure.

DR. MARLOWE: I don't know where you got your archeological evidence, but evidence for warfare in human paleontology goes back 2.5 million years.

DR. DEPAUW: I have to say maybe we could talk about it some other time. But fighting warfare --

DR. MARLOWE: It depends on the definition of war.

DR. DEPAUW: The attempt to use cave drawings, for instance, would show arrows --

DR. MARLOWE: If you are talking about technology, that is one thing. If you are talking about humans killing other humans, sucking their brains out, taking --

DR. DEPAUW: Sucking their brains out is a religious activity.

DR. MARLOWE: Taking parts of them to eat and what have you, there is a great deal of evidence that says this goes back earlier.

DR. DEPAUW: I would not call this war.

DR. MARLOWE: Well, you wouldn't call this war but some of the rest of us would. It is a mode of solving a problem.

DR. DEPAUW: You don't suck brains to solve a problem. Let's say you have an interesting point but it is on the side.

DR. TEITELBAUM: Are you saying that you can't have war without horses; did I get that?

DR. DEPAUW: I said the origins of war came from the horse people on the Steppe.

DR. MARLOWE: The Americas never had wars.

DR. DEPAUW: Warfare in America does not come until you have human beings in America. You do not have human beings in America until after they have settled in Asia. They went across the Bering Straits.

DR. MARLOWE: But that didn't happen until 20,000 years ago, maybe 50,000 years ago.

DR. DEPAUW: That is right. You go across the Bering Strait and it connects that way.

DR. TEITELBAUM: They brought war with them across the Bering Straits?

DR. DEPAUW: The kind of war they brought with them, though, was the ceremonial war.

DR. TEITELBAUM: Without the horses.

DR. DEPAUW: Well, the horses became extinct.

DR. TEITELBAUM: Before the people came.

DR. DEPAUW: Yes.

DR. TEITELBAUM: So you can have war with horses but not with people without horses?

DR. DEPAUW: We have war now with people. The connection I was attempting to make is that peoples like the hordes of Ghengis Khan, the hordes

of Attila the Hun, and the hordes of the ancient Amazons, were nomadic people where everyone fought. The Greeks, perceiving that and being the written historians, noticed time and time again that the women fought alongside the men. These cultures had androgynous warriors where women fight side by side with men.

DR. MARLOWE: You can't discount 10,000 years of history. Ghengis Khan comes a long way after. I am sorry, but when you talked about Ghengis Khan and the Greeks and formalized Greek warfare, it goes back to 600 BC. Ghengis Khan erupts out of central Asia in the 14th century. That is a 2000 year differentiation.

DR. DEPAUW: I would like to give a footnote here. John Keegan's recent book on war is a very good overview and I don't have time, really, to go century by century.

DR. MARLOWE: What I had asked you for is an overview of the role of women in war.

DR. DEPAUW: This is what I am attempting to outline, beginning with the first hordes that come out of the steppe prior to the Greeks, continuing through Ghengis Khan, and Attila the Hun. These nameless hordes that the Greeks called Sarmacians, still have not had a thorough study. John Keegan uses the term for them, "horse people of the Steppe." I like that term, because otherwise they are an ethnolinguist's nightmare. What they have in common is they do not have a settled city. The entire society is on horseback. When there is war, men and women fight together.

The other category is using women combatants in segregated groups. The classic word for this is the Amazon. That is what I use because it does, especially in modern warfare, seem to be a distinction. I have to leap areas to give my examples. In World War II, the most famous of the Russian fighter pilot women are those who fought in segregated groups. Most of the women who were fighter pilots fought in integrated squadrons.

It is easier, then, to remember the Amazons than the androgynous warrior. If you take a gradient and start with what is easiest to remember in history, the easiest category to remember is woman as victim, the second easiest is woman as whore. Hardest to remember is the woman who fights side by side with the men with no apparent distinction except, apparently, occasionally giving birth.

Last summer the Minerva Center published a book called An Uncommon Soldier, which are the collected letters of Sarah Rosetta Wakeman, who was a Union private. In the introduction to the book, the editor, Lauren Kitt Burgess, goes through the other material that she had collected on women soldiers. She has official documents on 140 of these, as well as anecdotal reports on others.

Among these, there are 6 who were not discovered until they gave birth. This is what I mean by an androgynous soldier; as far as the work is concerned, there is no distinction.

Something that reviewers have remarked about the Rosetta Wakeman letters is that, unless you knew this was a woman, you would believe she was just another male soldier. The reasons she enlists, her fear about going into combat, her going off and meeting some man she knew from back home, all of that is the same.

It interests me as an historian. If I can wrap up my summary in a strict sense I would say war ended in 1945, because after that the major powers cannot get together all their maximum force with the purpose of annihilating the enemy. That has become strategically impossible, which is why people were saying that atomic weapons were a very interesting scientific development but they would have no tactical use. War has changed a great deal since 1945.

It took a while to learn this, although if you are following the Army, Navy, Air Force Times as I do, it is becoming clear that more and more people have understood what has happened since 1945; namely, that everything we do is going to not only be limited, but that self interest dictates working for conflict resolution before you use weapons.

In the Gulf War, for instance, we threw megabucks at this enemy, but we still have Saddam Hussein there. There are other methods of attempting conflict resolution, which have been done now several times in the Middle East, and everybody is shocked.

The Berlin Wall came down to everybody's shock, not because there was an absolute victory on the battlefield, but because of other methods of conflict resolution, which I would suggest are the same ones that were used pre-war by the human species. The human species had arguments with each other, they ate their dead and they did things of that sort, but they did not try to create a situation in which all of the fit personnel organized under a hierarchy with the purpose of killing a defined enemy.

I would suggest that after 1945, although we still have conflict, violence and killing, that there has been a major change in the nature of military history. Surprisingly, or maybe not surprisingly, it is at this point, for the first time, that there has been a dispute and argument about women in combat.

In World War II, the best example is the Russians who had the biggest part of the war. They had women in every military specialty. They were in tanks, they were marines, they were snipers.

DR. URСANO: How many women were there?

DR. DEPAUW: I can't do this off the top of my head, but there were many. Of course, they had an enormously long front. In addition to having women in the regular Red Army, they had enormous armies of partisans, both in

Russia and in Yugoslavia, where there were some awfully fierce things that went on. In France, the leader of the major underground unit was a woman.

It was not for discussion. The women did say, and I think men agree in the times when they were not busy with their puberty rituals, that peace is nicer than war. War can be exciting, but not especially if it is forced on you and you are spending years running away from Nazi's carrying a baby in one arm.

It is fun for us in retrospect to read about it. These are enormously exciting stories. Women who have been in combat normally yearn for peace. This is true even though later on in their memoirs war comes through as the most exciting times of their lives when they thought they were making the greatest contribution. They write that it was a good thing to have gone through, although they didn't enjoy it at the time.

DR. TEITELBAUM: Are you saying that the purpose of war is to kill the defined enemy and then do something with them after you kill them? Is that the purpose? Could you give a definition of purpose?

DR. DEPAUW: Using a very narrow definition arising since the time of Napoleon, trying to annihilate your foe without having a war to the death is called primitive war; what I am calling ceremonial war.

Clausewitzian analysis of American Indian warfare points out a situation, for instance, where the Native Americans would set up a great trap where they could get the entire group in there and wipe them out. However, they didn't kill everyone. They waited until most of them had gone through, took one scalp, and that is what they wanted.

Western, Clausewitzian warfare, is total war. Now, total war has changed with the ability of technology to keep up with it. The Romans did pretty well with total war. They had an enormous proportion of their adult male population under arms. They had one of the most efficient weapons ever, the gladius, which was an efficient, cheap, and very certain way of killing people. They laid lots of people low and it was war to annihilation. When they attacked the enemy, they attacked the enemy's position. After they finished with the fighting men, they attacked the enemy's wagons, where the women usually were fighting to defend themselves. A victory was having wiped them all out.

LTC KNUDSON: Could you discuss the Yanamamo Indians in terms of engaging in real warfare? I am not exactly up on it. Among the Yanamamo men, the greatest warriors seemed to leave the most offspring. Can you say that they are really engaged in war?

DR. DEPAUW: The difference between ritual warfare and real warfare is something that anthropologists and archeologists dispute. Military men say defining war is a useless exercise, let's just get on with it. However, the specialists in different fields approach it in different ways. I choose a definition of warfare that insists that killing has to be part of it.

LTC KNUDSON: Technological killing?

DR. DEPAUW: Not necessarily. You can do it with your bare hands if you are good enough at it. I would say that the kinds of things that really are almost consensual battles to prove your manhood, are the ones in the spring where tribes go off to fight. The highest demonstration of courage is not to kill him, but to take him alive as if he is still dangerous - that is ceremonial.

DR. MARLOWE: But that characterizes only a small part of warfare in North America, Central America, or South America. The majority of it was vicious competition for resources in which entire groups were exterminated. The Iroquois did not fight nicely. The destruction of many North American Indian troops happened long before our coming into the continent. I lived and worked with nomadic warriors. When they had wars with their enemies, everybody died.

DR. DEPAUW: Presumably not in a former century.

DR. MARLOWE: No, presumably in this century using the weaponry of that century. The same kind of warfare went on among the Australians when they were first contacted by Europeans, and they had been there for 30,000 years. The same kind of warfare goes on in highland New Guinea. There are ritual wars and there are real wars.

I also wonder about your Clausewitzian definition, since Clausewitz makes it very plain that the object of war was to enforce your will upon the enemy. It was not necessarily either exterminate or destroy him, or, indeed, not even necessarily to depose him.

DR. DEPAUW: The unconditional surrender element.

DR. MARLOWE: Unconditional surrender is really, in a sense, a later development. Almost no European war ended in unconditional surrender. You are entitled to set up your premises, but your premises are not necessarily those of other people who have engaged in the study of warfare of special tribes.

DR. DEPAUW: I am not here as the final word on military history.

DR. MARLOWE: I just want you to be careful about your premises and let us know what they mean.

DR. DEPAUW: I am very careful. You may want to read my book and my footnotes.

DR. ROSEN: I would just like to make a point. I am not an expert on the history of war or on the history of anything, in fact. From my basic understanding of looking at ecological factors, it would seem to me to be a common sense premise that when you have an ecology where different groups are competing for scarce resources that competition for scarce resources is going to be built into the puberty rites.

The ceremonial and ecological aspects of warfare (even though conceptually you can think of them as different) are really going to merge as part of the culture of the people. You will get puberty rites that will embody, symbolize or include the kinds of things that this young man is going to do as a young warrior. I am not talking here about ecological or economic determinism as the ecology causes people to form it. There is an interaction between them.

DR. DEPAUW: You think that the ceremony and the ecology would be merged?

DR. ROSEN: Yes, I would think there would be some merging between them.

DR. DEPAUW: That the love of the land is built into their lives.

DR. ROSEN: From what I have read about some of the tribes in New Guinea, which are very warrior-oriented, there has been a suggestion that one of the reasons for this is the kind of ecology that they live in. The way in which these cultures have emerged as warrior-like cultures and the way the children are raised has something to do with this.

DR. DEPAUW: It is a little bit strange to me to be dealing with a group of people who presumably have a focus on the 20th century to be getting into this, which I didn't expect. I will answer these two points. First of all, war is not good for solving ecological problems. In fact, that is why there has been this outbreak of peace in the Middle East and movement toward it. Once you realize you are members of the same mammalian species and you need water, blowing things up doesn't make it better; it makes it worse.

Regarding the New Guinea rituals, the Europeans started taking over that area and decided there was too much fighting going on. In place of the war, which had become banned, they invented a new disease which only the former warriors were able to heal through their rituals. It is interesting the way it

metamorphosed. The relations between the sexes remained the same, because instead of protecting the women from these "enemies," they were now protecting them from "disease." It was a way in which the ceremony was able to merge to do the same thing, as far as maintaining gender roles was concerned. This is a vast field of study and there are intense debates. I am on E-mail lists where people will argue with each other on these very subjects.

DR. ROSEN: I didn't want to say that I thought that war solved the problem. I don't think war does solve the problem. I still think that there may be reasons why a lot of the things that we have in our culture and that others have in their cultures are counterproductive, not just war. There are many aspects of cultures that get perpetuated that are not healthy, and I think that there is an increasing awareness; there is an increasing movement among anthropologists to place certain values on cultural elements, whereas before that was verboten. I am not talking about war as a way of solving an ecological problem. I am talking about certain kinds of warfare and certain kinds of societies as having adopted that issue, but not because it solves problems.

Growing up as a patriotic young American today who was going to go to the military to defend peace through strength meant that you grew up with certain anti-Russian attitudes. I certainly agree that they were traditional enemies; this was true in North America. It was almost like the Dallas Cowboys and the Washington Redskins. It was a sporting event. As the European settlers used to say, "you always knew when the spring came and the snakes rose and the Indians would go to war." They knew who their enemies were going to be. In addition to saying, "I am a man, I am not a woman," they could also say, "I am an Iroquois, I am not a Cherokee."

DR. URSANO: I was interested in some of the issues that you raised with your graduate students. What do we actually have of written accounts of women that you know of or perhaps even written by women, and their relationship to war?

DR. DEPAUW: There are only two published biographies by women who fought in the American Civil War. There is one collection of letters that was discovered and recently published. In soldiers' letters there are constant references to women soldiers. In the popular books that were published in the 1860's, they would often begin by saying that among the thousands of unmarked graves, hundreds are occupied by women.

The thing is that this was based on a misunderstanding of history because it wasn't just the Civil War. The high point, apparently, for women serving in uniform in Europe was in the 17th and 18th centuries where they did have limited wars. One English writer made the remark that there were so many women in the military now they have to have their own regiment. There are hundreds of those.

In addition to that, there is the tradition of popular music which went on for 300 years which features the heroine who is the bold, bonnie lassie, who follows her man in disguise and becomes a better man than any of them. She challenges his loyalty to her when she is still in disguise, and then they live happily ever after. This was such a common theme that it was even encouraging women in the American Revolution to enlist; although our American Revolution was guerilla warfare, not really the same kind of regimented war that the Europeans were fighting.

DR. MARLOWE: I would like to go back to the question I originally asked and let me re-frame it. One of the things we have done over the last few hundred years has been to organize, militarize and put into uniform a great many functions that were carried out by non-uniformed personnel for many thousands of years in the form of war. Many of the people who carried out those functions were women; functions which today are the kinds of things the military would construe as support functions, service support and actual combat support. What do we know about the experience and outcome of people in these functions which we have since formalized and made male functions but which for centuries were the function of people whom we call camp followers? You are saying they did laundry, basic logistics, preparation of food, and they were also meeting the enemy to break the line of battle, as well as victims of the enemies.

DR. DEPAUW: Or the rear guard. Let's see. There is an official MOS in the American military that doesn't disappear until into the 1870's. It originated, as far back as I can trace it, with the armies of Richard the Lion-Hearted during the Crusades. This is the description "laundress" which was covering all women's work. That is, the laundress was also the nurse. She was the one who carried the first aid kit. Then that became recognized. Those women were different from the other camp followers.

The other camp followers were civilians, they were selling things and they were following the army. When they wanted to make speed on the march they would say, "and all of these must leave, except, of course, for laundresses," for which there would be a certain quota in each regiment.

There is an interesting autobiography by a black woman who served as regimental laundress during the Civil War in which she said, "I actually spent very little time doing laundry. I was so busy with other things including cleaning rifles and pouring shot." This particular slot of laundress was official and was paid by the Army and included a grant of rations.

In the middle of the 19th century when technology was causing all these changes in the military, Florence Nightingale intervenes with the idea that the old way of having women in combat support is bad. She held that soldiers' wives, who were the ones who got these authorized slots, were uneducated, dirty, and they had sexual relations with men, as wives often do. The movement to professionalize the Nursing Corps was equivalent to civilian nuns. They enlisted for life and they had to take vows of chastity. That changed the nature of nursing. Originally, it was a hierarchical line, but it was parallel to the military. Surprisingly, even in the Spanish-American War, the Army nurses were recruited by the Surgeon General of the DAR (Daughters of the American Revolution); and that was the hierarchy for that.

It is interesting to read in the current military literature how many functions today are going back to civilians, rather than to people in uniform. Civilians deploy when there is any major activity, rather than attempting to get people into the military and train them for these specialties. The laundresses went out in about 1877 and the Nurse Corps came in 1904. There was a short period of a couple of decades when, technically, there were no women officially in the military.

DR. TEITELBAUM: Do you have evidence of how women felt and how they reacted to the stresses of war?

DR. DEPAUW: Yes.

DR. TEITELBAUM: Could you tell us something about that?

DR. DEPAUW: There is a lot of autobiographical literature; there were a lot of diaries. The conference that the National Archives held at the beginning of March was focused on trying to retain some of the material from these World War II people who have not yet written it down. The difficulty is it is not accepted as important and significant by major publishers. When I say we have autobiographies, they are by small presses, privately printed. Many of them are rare books. There are collections of letters. Rosetta's letters are the only letters that we have from a woman soldier of the Civil War. Women didn't think having an aunt in the military was something they were proud enough of to hand on to their descendants.

If I were looking for evidence of women and stress and assuming that women are women wherever they are, the United States has not had a real war

since the Civil War. We had a home front. Mostly where wars are, everybody is in it. Russia is a very good place to look at evidence and so is Yugoslavia. Eritrea had a 30-year war which ended only recently, in which one-third of the combatant troops were women. They, in fact, had a factory that was being manned by wounded veterans who were producing sanitary napkins to send to their soldiers in the field, which I thought was a strange organization.

Israel is an interesting case. There was a very intense involvement of Israeli women in combat up until it became a state. During their entire revolutionary period, they had women in combat; combat leaders who have written their memoirs. Unfortunately, very little is translated. It is Hebrew, but you could get it translated if you wanted to. When it became a "modern state," the women were put into gender stereotyped roles, much to their distress. Often you will read columnists who talk about the proof of women in combat by citing Israel. In modern Israel it is a myth; the women are not in combat. I often read a footnote which is quite unsupported that in Israel they tried it and it didn't work and that is why they took women out of combat. That is totally a myth.

DR. MARLOWE: There were a great many profound cultural forces with the founding in Israel that ensured that in no way would women be regularized.

DR. DEPAUW: There was a division there between those leaders who were following the original terrorist branch of the Israeli movement and those who were influenced by the way the Europeans had set things up during World War II. There was a lot of tension during World War II.

DR. MARLOWE: Some say it was catering to the religious political parties who have always kept the balance of power.

DR. DEPAUW: There is currently a Jewish woman suing Israel to let her into fighter pilot training. That is a pending case.

DR. MARLOWE: I wonder if we could go back to what is known about the first and second Afghan wars when the British armies massacred masses of women along with men, and if this has been a fairly repetitive thing through human history. What is in the historical record? What do we know about the experience of these people?

DR. DEPAUW: Well, we know about them fighting back.

DR. MARLOWE: Of the survivors, what have they had to say? Is there archival material here?

DR. DEPAUW: There are something like 2,600 languages currently on the globe. If you have to rely on translation you are filtering what you are getting in. I do not have facility in any Arabic languages. I know several European languages and a smattering of Russian. Otherwise, I have to rely on secondary sources. What I do know is this: there are people alive today who have had these experiences. If we can be working with our World War II women veterans, the possibility still exists of having history projects working with these others.

DR. MARLOWE: Is there anyone doing it? There are a fair number of soldiers, sailors and airmen here in Washington. I am more concerned with western nations and western experience.

DR. DEPAUW: Then it is much easier.

DR. MARLOWE: Referring to the English and the Italians, there has been a significant experience for a number of years. I guess my question is, "what is in the record?" Where would one go to look for it?

DR. DEPAUW: There is much unexploited material including what I mentioned earlier, simply the history of military nursing. My graduate student is now doing a chapter for a book, and has become, just like that, the world's greatest living expert on American women military nurses. She spent only two weeks on the project. There is nobody who has brought this material together.

When I began studying this, in the late 1970's, I realized that there was all this material that nobody ever studied. I thought, "everybody is going to want to do this." But they don't. I think I now understand the reason, and I hope it may be changing. I got into this after I was already a full professor. I had my credentials. I did the First Federal Congress project. Regarding military history, there is a suspicion between the military and academia. If you look toward selling Civil War books, Harvey Foote is not an academic, John Keegan is not an academic. Inside academia, the faculty in history look down their noses and say, "oh, that is a service for ROTC, they are not real historians." They are defining their topic in really what is an academically superficial way.

Once you do get into military history, you see the thrill of it. You can get this very clearly from John Keegan but also from others. They are

armchair soldiers. Even if you are not going out and having male puberty rites yourself, that is what war stories are. They are men's adventure stories. If you put women into it, you spoil the story. I am not generally getting friendly audiences. People want to argue. They can argue about anything. I remember this in particular. I had cited a sociological study. What the sociologist did was to participate as an observer. She was in a unit. She took her little pad and when things were slow she used to sit and write. Everybody thought she was writing letters to her boyfriend, and she was copying down the dialogue. These colonels said, "that is not an ethical way to do research." What she said was that enlisted men, in fact, used four-letter words when referring to their female colleagues. He said, "that is not true about the fine fighting men in the Air Force. They do not use four-letter words in referring to their colleagues."

The feminist movement is not interested in women in the military. I have heard people say that if they join the military and they are getting harassed, that's their problem. If they want to go and join up with this patriarchal male force that is devoted to killing babies, they are not sisters and we don't care what happens to them.

Then I am left there in the middle where one meets the veterans because that is their roots. They look at me and say, "well, which service were you in?" Well, I wasn't in any. I went to a Quaker college and I hang around with pacifists. When it comes to making enemies of just about anybody, I picked this great open territory where I can make an enemy of just about everybody. I still think it is exciting and I still hope I get people joining me in it eventually.

DR. URSANO: Do we have anything from Vietnam?

DR. DEPAUW: Yes, that is still being produced. There seems to be a phenomenon with the writing of memoirs. Right after the event everybody is too much in post traumatic stress; they want to block it out. There was a long period when nothing was written. The first book to be written about Vietnam by an American was called Forever Sad the Hearts, which was a romance novel based on the real experience of a woman nurse who had been with a non-military nursing facility in Vietnam. The next book that became really famous was the one written by Linda Vandevander. She wrote her biography as therapy. After that came out, other women began to write her and say, "I recognize that."

DR. MARLOWE: Has your student working with military nursing unearthed much material on the nurses who were made POW's in World War II?

DR. DEPAUW: Yes, that is very easy. The interesting thing is, and the problem that she is having is, that if people are officially on the rolls getting casualty figures on them is difficult. This is true for those held prisoner by the Germans, others held prisoner by the Japanese, and a great many Red Cross nurses who were military nurses. The woman POW's are quite well known, and many of them are still alive.

DR. MARLOWE: Are there any first hand accounts of those?

DR. DEPAUW: Yes, they were debriefed when they got out.

LTC KNUDSON: Is there a national archives somewhere?

DR. DEPAUW: They are in different places. Usually they are segregated by service. The Center for Military History has a large collection of nurse accounts which include POW accounts. Then, of course, you have the book, She Went to War, which is on the Gulf War. That was written in collaboration with a professional writer. You always have to watch out for those things because the professional writer puts something in it. You do have letters home and you do have diaries, which are better first-hand material. There are vast quantities of this information. In fact, I meet tomorrow with a woman who has taken more than 1,000 oral histories. There is no repository to place them in.

The Minerva Center is a non-profit foundation, but it is very fragile; it rests on me. I am trying to train apprentices. What will be needed is to have a university behind it. I say university for this reason. The Women in Military Service for America (the WMSA project), has collected a lot of material, but the scientific method of collection is poor. They have a short form to fill in the military experience. They do not require a maiden name and they don't necessarily know where the person enlisted. To get something considered seriously by academics, it has to be academically trained historians with PhD's and with no axe to grind. This is slowly taking root at George Washington University, where they have made a policy decision to make it a priority to collect women's first person accounts.

LTC KNUDSON: What about letters? Some people must have saved their letters at home, like in World War II.

DR. DEPAUW: There is a project by one historian who has put out several volumes. It is entirely letters of women in World War II. It is a history, in

fact, written around the letters and it has a great sample of the letters. The American women are the least interesting. Samples also exist from around the world. I have a manuscript from a woman who was in the Polish Army during World War II. She has never been able to get a publisher. She was a prisoner of the Russians. When the Russians finally decided that maybe Hitler wasn't such a great ally, they let all their Polish POW's go free, and they left Siberia and went to Italy. She was in on the Battle of Monte Cassino. It is a vivid memory because, like so many other POW's, she is the only living voice. People told her stories. When she was in solitary, she went over and over these stories. But she has no publisher.

MAJ FRIEDL: What happened to the Russian Army after World War II, as far as women in the service?

DR. DEPAUW: They demobilized as much as they could, considering the Cold War, and women shrank to a very small percentage; they were mostly in the medical field. During the war time experience you have a lot of Russian examples of women. The United States became more open to the use of women after the war.

DR. TEITELBAUM: Could you tell us again about the Russians? The women who were part of the Russian Army were from the ghetto, during the czarist period.

DR. DEPAUW: They have a tradition going way back, that during times of fighting, the women fight alongside the men. I think they were called "Cavalry Maidens."

DR. TEITELBAUM: Were these wars of aggression or wars of defending the homeland?

DR. DEPAUW: With nomads, how can you tell? The Cossacks fought for fun. The whole tradition of Cossacks going to war was that it is fun.

DR. MARLOWE: But women didn't fight in the Cossack society.

DR. DEPAUW: Yes, they did.

DR. MARLOWE: They were on those little horses?

DR. DEPAUW: Yes. The tradition, of course, is that they didn't, but you think women never fought in the Civil War either. There is a World War I memoir, which I think is delightful because the woman who wrote it was very young when she enlisted. Everyone in the village was going to war. It was World War I, so everybody was turning up and getting on the train. She gets on the train

and she thinks her father is on the train. It turns out he isn't. When she gets off, there is this very big Cossack who calls her "sonny," and says, "we are going to make a Cossack out of you." She went through the training, as any very young soldier would. She was not allowed to cut her pigtails. She spent time feeding the horses and other things, and then finally there was the day that they let her cut her pigtails, and she was a Cossack, too. I am not saying that this is something that all women were doing. I think that the way that Eritrea has done it is probably going to be a rule of thumb; a third of the fighting force.

As for taking care of children, both men and women will defend them. The picture that I think is going to be the cover of my book is of an Afghani militia woman with a rifle, obviously of grandma-age. In front of her, there is a woman totally swaddled with a crying baby. The women who are nursing and the women who are giving birth have somehow ended up in the middle of wars, hard as it is to believe. Obviously, there are those women who are not yet with children, or those who are post-menopausal.

LTC KNUDSON: Are there rates of infanticide, if women wanted to be warriors. I am thinking, what do they do?

DR. DEPAUW: Well, they have it during war time.

LTC KNUDSON: Do they go back to their villages?

DR. DEPAUW: There is no village when you are on the run.

LTC KNUDSON: That is what I mean; does infanticide go up?

DR. DEPAUW: The Seminole War had some of the most pointed examples of this. When the American Army was hunting down the Seminoles, they would strangle their children. You hear this with Nazi escapes, too. They wouldn't want to kill children, but if they were making noise and this was the only way, this was done. The mothers then have something new for post-traumatic stress disorder to form around in later years. War is very nasty. Unfortunately, it isn't all a game.

DR. TEITELBAUM: I can't help but ask. Does that mean that the best female warriors are grandmothers?

DR. DEPAUW: What I was going to suggest was (this is Plato's idea), having examined the practices of the Spartans, where women were trained for war and did fight, he thought that all citizens who were capable should fight. He felt that women should not become a regular part of the military until they were post-menopausal; which is what I am calling grandmother.

DR. MARLOWE: James Finley and Bernard Knox and every other commentator on Sparta talks solely of the homosexual male pair bond as the basis of the Spartan military. I must seriously wonder where you get all of this information?

DR. DEPAUW: Well, there were future generations of Spartans. This is interesting; you will like this. In the Spartan wedding ceremony, the bride had her hair cut like a man and was dressed in men's clothes. That was the wedding dress; and she went with him to camp.

DR. MARLOWE: I wonder about the viability of any data from the ex-Soviet Union. I will retell a conversation I had with a Russian general years ago at a meeting in Europe. One of the issues was women in the military. He shook his finger at me and said, "You must remember, women crawl like a snake in the grass. It is good that she kills when she fights for glories of socialism. When it is for non-socialism, is useless." You have to recognize that there was a distortion.

DR. DEPAUW: That is the way some of them still currently talk.

DR. MARLOWE: This was a three-star general.

DR. DEPAUW: Yes, but probably had never seen a woman.

DR. MARLOWE: No, but there was a great deal of metaphoric discussion.

DR. ROSEN: It sounds to me a bit like the colonel who said that his people never used four-letter words.

DR. DEPAUW: There is a wonderful book, Cold War's Unwomanly Face, that is out of print in America, which was published in Moscow before the end of the Cold War. This was put together by a Russian woman journalist younger than I. When she related to the women veterans, she was like their granddaughter. They told her things they had never told people before. Her problem was she was a journalist, not an historian. What she does not ask are precise dates of enlistments, precisely where they served. But thank goodness she took these stories. They just make your blood run cold. School girls wanting to enlist, and sometimes they wouldn't let them enlist, so they would sneak in anyway. After they had their first baptism of fire and crawled out on the field dragging men to safety people decided, "well, you know, you aren't supposed to be here, but okay."

LTC KNUDSON: What about the Chinese? Were there women in the Chinese Army during World War II? Are there any records about that?

DR. DEPAUW: Talk about thin material. There is a graduate student at the University of Maryland who was, herself, in the Chinese Army and whose mother was in the Chinese Army who was unable to get information. She was a sociologist, not an historian.

LTC KNUDSON: I talked to her once. I didn't realize she was a veteran. Her father was in the Army.

DR. DEPAUW: Her mother was. I don't know if her father was, too, but I know her mother was.

LTC KNUDSON: Her father is a general. I think her father is a general in the Chinese Army.

DR. DEPAUW: Then there is, again, very thin material in English. I am hoping that with the great developments of computer software we are going to be able to have a breakthrough in history. Among people who teach in the United States, if the source isn't in English, or at least nothing more unusual than German or Russian, it is not history.

DR. TEITELBAUM: Is there anything on Africa? You mentioned the Arabic-speaking people.

DR. DEPAUW: There is a long tradition of warrior queens in Africa. The original Amazons were Libyan. The material on them is basically archeological, because again, these were people on the Steppe, nomadic and illiterate. What we know about them is what other people wrote about them. The most famous of the African fighting women in recent times was the Amazon army in Dahomey. Now this was a nation ruled by a man but he had an all-female force who had originally been elephant hunters and then became his guards. They fought the French. They were no serious fighting force because they were eventually defeated. My remark is, so was the Wehrmacht and at one time they were fairly effective. In the 19th century, British military officers were saying that the best troops south of the Sahara were the women warriors.

That brings me to something else that somebody asked about Vietnam. There were a great many women combatants on the enemy side in Vietnam, both North Vietnam and South Vietnam; women combatants, women combat leaders. There is one person now doing a project on them that will be published in English, but she has not completed the work yet. Still, even from official records, there is a lot of information about them.

There was one book of memoirs published in Vietnam, translated into English, which was given to Linda Vandevander, which she was going to give to me. It got lost at the Wall. We were meeting there on a Veterans Day, and that book disappeared. Somewhere out there someone picked up a book. These were oral histories of Vietnam combatant women. It was lost on the day when everyone was seeing people they hadn't seen and there was hugging and kissing and all this kind of thing going on.

DR. TEITELBAUM: Does that fall into all the patterns of all this latter day discussion about upper body strength and all this?

DR. DEPAUW: This is the interesting thing. The focus is always on upper body strength, but if you ever ask about either aerobic fitness or lower body strength, nobody is interested.

MAJ FRIEDL: There aren't big differences, though.

DR. DEPAUW: Women are generally superior at sit-ups. In fact, this is like the stock thing that the gym teachers do. The male gym teacher says, "well, I am big and rugged and strong." The female gym teacher says, "I challenge you to a sit-up contest." She will always win. As men have the tendency to develop upper body muscles, women have strength below the waist. Women used to carry things, as they did in many armies, because they were the logical beasts of burden. They would not carry it on their shoulders. They would either carry it on their heads where the weight goes straight down, or they used sledges dragged by horses.

Even with upper body strength you have a continuum. There are women who can max out the man's requirement. One friend who is a sociologist is a little thing, smaller than I am. She tested for physical fitness. They made her stop and said, "women can't do any more than this."

DR. MARLOWE: This is really a set of 19th century constructs; the whole construct of what the limits are that women can do and are allowed to do. It peaked in terms of athletics in this country in the 1920's with the severe limitations that were placed on anything girls could do in elementary, junior high, and high school. It had to do with everything from cutting the length of time they could play basketball periods down to every kind of exercise because it was physically bad for them. This is very, very recent. This is a society becoming middle class.

DR. DEPAUW: It has been replaced, too.

DR. MARLOWE: Yes, but we are moving back into a world in which we now, for health reasons, espouse exercise and labor. Prior to this everybody had to do it anyway in order to survive.

DR. DEPAUW: If you think about real people in the world, I think particularly of the people who do the heavy labor in hospitals. Then you have the typical situation of a little fighter pilot who is about nose to nose to me. We talk about the importance of upper body strength as though you have to lift the plane, not just fly it. This is a luxury of discussion in peace time. In war time, especially if the enemy is breathing down your back, you don't say, "you can't lift that, you are a woman." The best person to do the job does it.

DR. TEITELBAUM: I think it was more than four months ago that Newt Gingrich made his statements about the trenches. Any comments about that?

DR. DEPAUW: Well, everybody in my circle said, "Oh, humph, terrible thing, men who want to hunt giraffes." I think that the realistic bottom line on this statement, peculiar as the statement was, is that in the modern military we are not having people fight in heavy armor with long broadswords.

DR. TEITELBAUM: Body armor.

DR. DEPAUW: Yes. Well, this isn't true, because actually there were women who fought during the crusades wearing full armor and using these long swords. What he was saying basically is that modern war, as it is planned to happen anyway, relies a great deal on technology, where it is your brain rather than your ability to heave stuff that is important. I thought that he was making a point that is not conflicting with women's roles in the military.

He might have been saying that women should not have been in the trenches of Vicksburg or something but that is just a matter of academic discussion. Whether women should or should not have been in combat in World War I or in the Crusades is not the point. Today, they are not going to be fighting with a gladius. They will be fighting with something more sophisticated, and from the plans, as far away from the battlefield as the commanders can get them. I also heard some new things. Apparently, they are working on genetically manipulated rats that will be able to be introduced into battlefields. So, fighting might not be fighting. We might be doing this entirely through surrogates.

DR. MARLOWE: That must come from a part of the Internet that we know nothing about.

DR. DEPAUW: I keep reading these things and they get weirder. The other thing is the air-conditioned underwear, so that you can survive in your anti-bacteriological garb, and this will work for two hours without a charge.

MAJ FRIEDL: Microbiological cooling.

COL GIFFORD: The problem is that the battery to make it run is such that you get back strain instead of heat stroke. You are still prostrate on the ground.

DR. DEPAUW: Do you know that book by Richard Gabriel? I think it is called No More Heroes. It is almost 10 years old. He was describing the scenario on the modern battlefield as it is conceptualized in our era, how nobody could live there for more than two minutes, because of the great deal of noise and other sorts of things. The things that used to throw people into shell shock in World War I took as long as a few weeks, maybe even a few months before the soldier became totally incapable of doing anything. Now, with this modern battlefield with the genetic rats where you are carrying the battery for your underwear, shock gets to you pretty early.

DR. MARLOWE: I would offer you the thought that since 1918, we have experienced nothing of the horror, the lethality, murderousness and overwhelmingness of an infantry attack in World War I.

DR. DEPAUW: The Bulge was pretty bad.

DR. MARLOWE: I would also offer you the thought that Dick Gabriel predicted 300,000 American casualties in the first two days in the Persian Gulf. His track record isn't very good.

DR. DEPAUW: Predicting casualties is different from describing the physiological requirements.

DR. MARLOWE: He is describing the difference in the environment.

DR. DEPAUW: No one went into the trenches in DESERT STORM.

DR. MARLOWE: Nobody is ever going to be in the trenches again. The battlefield is already decentralized and very cellular. Mr. Gingrich wasn't being prophetic.

DR. FULLERTON: We are getting to the time limit. Thank you very much.

DR. DEPAUW: I hope I gave you something useful.